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ABSTRACT

Different pedagogical and curricular approaches to bilingual pupils are examined at two institutions.

At the first institution, an off-site language unit, bilingual pupils are shown to be denied access to the full range of normal classroom discourses, being denied opportunities to initiate discussions, ask questions or work in small groups. When pupils attempt to take control of discourses themselves, their cognitive-linguistic inputs, imperfectly expressed, are often interpreted as incorrect. Typically, existing language and learning skills, including first-language skills, are not taken into account by teachers, and cognitive levels are set at levels commensurate with the pupils' second-language, rather than first-language, competences. This pedagogical approach, described as 'language led', results in pupils engaging in language-learning activities far below those appropriate to their chronological ages.

At the second institution, a mainstream comprehensive school, bilingual pupils are shown ostensibly to be provided access to a curriculum appropriate to their chronological ages, and to the full range of normal classroom discourses. It is argued, however, that particular discursive forms and genres imported into the

classroom from 'out-of-school' cultures - for example, preferred ways of writing and drawing - are treated by teachers as incorrect and as symptoms of pupil deficiency. This results in unhelpful pedagogies which inhibit pupils' linguistic-academic development.

The thesis concludes by describing classroom situations in which more helpful pedagogical approaches are adopted, through teachers 'distancing themselves' from their own and their pupils' cultural preferences and through treating alternative forms of representation as different rather than as merely wrong. Such teachers adopt a policy of extending their pupils' cultural-representational repertoires, rather than seeking to replace one set of cultural forms with another. The thesis questions the extent to which teachers can, through such approaches, mount an effective challenge to existing perceptions that certain forms of representation are intrinsically superior to others.

CONTENTS

Part One: Introduction to the Project

Chapter One: Aims and Issues. Page 11

This chapter locates the project within the researcher's own experience as a teacher and within educational debates on the advantages and disadvantages of bilingual pupils' being taught within mainstream classes or by small-group withdrawal. A central reason for the project is introduced - that of focussing on practical, pedagogical issues as a way of contributing to teachers' thinking on best provision for bilingual pupils.

Chapter Two: Research Design - Sample, Data Collection and Theory. Page 32

Reasons are outlined for approaching two particular institutions, for choosing to focus on a particular ethnic-linguistic group, and for adopting an ethnographic approach to the research. A brief description of the research design is provided, including notes on methods of data collection and analysis, and the relevant theoretical perspective is outlined.

Chapter Three: Symbolic Interactionism and 'Mismatch' Theory. Page 61

One of the project's major theoretical themes is elaborated: that of the relevance of cultural mismatch theory to the teaching of bilingual pupils. This is introduced through a comparison of cultural mismatch theory with symbolic interactionism and psychosemiotics. This chapter offers a fuller account than the previous chapter of the theoretical perspectives guiding and underpinning the project as a whole, introducing the notion of teachers' misrecognising culture-based idiosyncrasies in their pupils' work as pupil deficiencies. It points towards a possible pedagogical solution to this difficulty, through the notion of teachers adopting a policy of 'repertoire extension'.

Part Two: Bilingual Provision at Kursal Lane Language Centre

Chapter Four: Philosophy and Priorities. Page 81

With reference to interviews with teachers, the Kursal Lane Language Centre's philosophy on bilingualism is described, including its policy of teaching 'language in context'. Reference is made to alternative, oppositional models of language-in-use from existing research, and to the uniformity of pedagogical approaches and philosophies at the Centre. The overall pedagogical and organisational approach

adopted by the Centre is described as 'language led', in that cognitive inputs are strictly controlled in accordance with assessments of pupils' second--language, rather than first-language, proficiency.

Chapter Five: Discourse at Kursal Lane: Teacher Strategies.
..... Page 117

With reference to the work of Edwards and Mercer in monolingual classrooms, similar aspects of discourse limitation and control are examined at Kursal Lane, drawing on the evidence of transcribed lessons. It is argued that teachers at the Centre used strategies similar to those described by Edwards and Mercer, but that there were also significant differences resulting from the 'language-led' approach. These included, centrally, the prioritisation of matters of procedure and language over matters of curriculum content.

Chapter Six: Discourse at Kursal Lane: Language, Cognition and Confusion. Page 169

This chapter considers further difficulties of the language-led curriculum adopted by the Kursal Lane Centre, with an emphasis on its possible detrimental effects on pupils' cognitive-linguistic development. Drawing on material from the lessons of two key teachers at the Centre, features of

discourse limitation and control are examined where these are significantly different from or additional to those described by Edwards and Mercer. The language-led curriculum is shown potentially to inhibit linguistic and cognitive-academic development and to lead to cognitive-linguistic confusions.

Chapter Seven: 'BICS', 'CALP' and Linguistic Transference.

..... Page 214

The teaching model adopted at Kursal Lane is contextualised within Cummins' BICS-CALP hypothesis. This hypothesis identifies two kinds of language: basic interpersonal communication skills (BICS), or 'everyday language', which is straightforward enough to be 'picked up' by pupils, and cognitive-academic language proficiency (CALP), which includes the more complex 'language of learning' and needs to be deliberately taught and learned. Potential difficulties of the BICS-CALP hypothesis in general are indicated, as well as specific difficulties related to the limited version adopted at Kursal Lane. This includes considerations of the lack at Kursal Lane of a social perspective to the learning situation, of the dismissal from the classroom of potentially useful language forms and varieties, and of a reluctance to acknowledge one particular aspect of Cummins' theory - that of Common Underlying Proficiency (CUP) - which argues that linguistic skills

acquired in one language are, to an extent, transferable to other languages.

Part Three: Case Studies at Company Road Secondary School

Chapter Eight: Bilingual Pupils at Company Road Secondary School: Divergent Philosophies. Page 253

Variations in educational philosophy within the second institution, Company Road School, are described, focussing on differing notions as to best provision for bilingual pupils. This includes a consideration of intra-personal and inter-personal differences in the area of publicly and privately held views, as a context for the case-studies that follow.

Chapter Nine: Art at Company Road: Issues of Assessment and Discourse. Page 280

This chapter examines the way in which a pupil not withdrawn from a mainstream classroom, and ostensibly exposed to the standard curriculum and discursive range in that particular subject area, may still be exposed to unhelpful and restrictive pedagogies through the teacher's misrecognising an alternative approach to the task set as a symptom of the pupil's deficiency. The teacher's implicit assumptions as to what is expected in the classroom are not explained to

her bilingual pupil. Not having 'distanced' herself sufficiently from her own cultural norms, the teacher believes her pupil to have simply been incapable of carrying out the task set, rather than interpreting his behaviour as an alternative definition of the situation.

Chapter Ten: English at Company Road: Matters of Experience and Discourse. Page 316

A similar case is examined to that explored in Chapter Nine. In this instance, a bilingual pupil's love story, set by the teacher as a piece of examination work, is criticised on the basis of its being 'not true to life'. This raises issues of culture-specific generic differences, and suggests a re-examination of the notion of Common Underlying Proficiency and language transference to include 'Differential Underlying Proficiency': that is to say, a consideration of those 'hidden' or unquestioned aspects of a person's language that are not 'transferable' from language to language because of qualitative generic differences.

Chapter Eleven: Extending Repertoires..... Page 345

This chapter examines lessons taught by other Art and English teachers at Company Road, in which pupils' previous learning experiences are acknowledged and accredited and it is recognised by the teacher that there are non-transferable

as well as transferable aspects of a pupil's language and culture. The case is argued for a pedagogy of repertoire extension, in which current pupil experience is used as the way in to teaching new forms and genres, whether artistic-affective or linguistic-academic.

Part Four: Summary and Conclusions

Chapter Twelve: Summary and Conclusions. Page 385

The overall argument of the thesis is summarised in terms of teachers needing to distance themselves sufficiently from their own cultural norms and preferences in order to avoid misdiagnosing bilingual pupils' classroom products and to adopt more helpful pedagogies of repertoire extension. This argument is contextualised within the wider social setting, which demands a consideration of the extent to which teachers can, through such approaches, begin to challenge a view which assumes that some cultural-linguistic representational forms are intrinsically superior to others and which consequently benefits some already-privileged pupils at the expense of others.

Notes, References and Appendices Page 407

PART 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH PROJECT: AIMS, SCOPE
AND METHODS

CHAPTER 1: AIMS AND ISSUES

1.1 Background

The principal aims in undertaking this research project arose from my own experiences of working with bilingual pupils at three inner-city schools during the period September 1974 - July 1987. During that period I held positions as senior sixth-form tutor, Head of English and Drama, and Assistant Director of Curriculum. In all these positions, work with bilingual pupils was a major component, involving not just teaching but contributions to the preparation of related whole-school policy documents and the organisation of relevant in-service training. I also spent a year in Sweden, teaching both monolingual Swedish pupils and immigrant bilingual pupils of secondary-school age.

Though initially interested in the linguistic and academic achievement of bilingual pupils and the ways in which these areas of development were helped or hindered by their school experiences, I had, by the time the research project began, extended this interest to matters of continuing social development: that is to say, how bilingual pupils are perceived by themselves and by others not only as learners and language-users but as people in interaction with other people.

1.2 Organisational Issues

The first broad aim of my project was to examine different kinds of school provision for recently-arrived bilingual pupils¹ in strictly organisational terms, and to seek out their relative merits and demerits in terms of their impact on the social, academic and linguistic development of the pupils for whom they were designed. Specifically, I was interested in comparing (a) provision that withdrew such pupils from mainstream classes for all or part of the school week for specialist language work with (b) provision that focussed on providing additional support for such pupils in terms of staffing or resources within the mainstream classroom. (The central arguments in this debate are outlined under 1.4 below.) Taking my cue from the teachers I spoke to, I shall call this the 'support-versus-withdrawal' debate.

I had participated myself in the support-versus-withdrawal debate, both as Head of English at one school with large numbers of bilingual pupils and as Assistant Director of Curriculum at another. My impression had been (a) that the debate was frequently argued without reference to specific, analysed data, (b) that, typically, it purported to centralise the needs of bilingual pupils themselves without ever achieving, through such centralisation, an immediate synthesis or resolution. The following exchange of views,

made in writing through an internal questionnaire organised by the Head of ESL² at one of the institutions involved in the project, is presented as typical both of the polarity of views taken and of the difficulties involved in reconciling them:

T1: Removing pupils from mainstream classes is racist.

It cuts them off from large areas of the standard curriculum, from exposure to the ordinary language of their monolingual peers, and, most importantly, from monolingual peers themselves. It creates ghettos.

T2: What is the point of putting non-English-speaking pupils straight into the mainstream if they can't even understand what is going on? That is not 'exposure' to the curriculum: it's just demoralising. It's also racist. What you end up with are ghettos within the classroom, with the pupils' lack of English simply being exposed to the other pupils and becoming the object of ridicule.

In this case, both teachers claim to have the best interests of their bilingual pupils at heart, and yet this leads each to condemn the other's position as both racist and impracticable, with no obvious indication as to where any reconciliation of views might find its starting-point.

I had initially intended to provide analysed data, in the form of case studies and accompanying commentary, that might assist teachers in their evaluations of the various aspects of the support-versus-withdrawal debate. I had hoped this might help teachers to achieve some synthesis of views if that seemed desirable, or at least to open up apparently entrenched and dogmatic views to further serious interrogation.

1.3 Matters of Pedagogy and Audience

My second aim was to examine different pedagogical approaches to bilingual pupils, regardless of the organisational system within which they were taught. Specifically, I wanted to know if some teaching methods were more effective than others with regard to such pupils, and, if so, what were the essential differences that accounted for those differentials. My experience was that, both in school staffrooms and in the available literature, pedagogical issues in relation to bilingual pupils were subject to far less discussion than organisational issues. There were, of course, notable exceptions to this rule: for example, a number of articles written by practitioners in the field, suggesting teacher strategies for working with bilingual pupils (see, for instance, Bleach & Riley 1985, Burgess & Gore 1985, and Levine 1981). However, broader research projects had tended to focus on pedagogical

'issues', presented in essentially theoretical ways, rather than on the detailed analysis of actual classroom interactions through which theory was generated or in which theory could be said to be 'grounded' (Glaser & Strauss 1967)³. Typically (eg. Cummins 1984), such research had, in turn, drawn on essentially quantitative or statistical data from other research projects which had taken organisational issues as their prime focus. In my own research I had wanted to help to redress this imbalance. As with my first aim, I had wanted to provide teachers with analysed data that would help them re-examine their own practices by evaluating them against the practices of the 'other' teachers described in the thesis. This approach, which we might call: a 'distancing' exercise, finds its elaboration in the work of Garfinkel (1967 pp.37-8), who discusses the possibility of making visible the "seen but unnoticed" expectancies of social behaviour by employing techniques which "produce reflections through which the strangeness of an obstinately familiar world can be detected". (See also Burgess 1929 p.47 on "the secrets of human nature and society", and Mason 1994 on reflecting and "noticing".)

My intention was to present familiar accounts of classroom practice which included situations in which there appeared to be potentially or actually harmful communicative breakdowns between bilingual pupils and their teachers, as well as situations in which teacher strategies appeared to

be helpful. I hoped that a readership that included practising teachers, reached initially through the publication and dissemination of the various case studies as they were completed, would respond critically to these accounts from the safety of a perspective which says: 'This specific example is of somebody else's practice, not mine - but it is one that I could easily have taken part in and that clearly relates to my practice'. In particular, I wanted to encourage teachers to view these familiar situations in ways other than through the distorting effects of their own 'invisible' cultural norms and preferences, at the same time making those norms and preferences more visible to them. (For further elaborations of the notion of such invisibility in relation to educational practices, see also Karrier 1967, Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, Apple 1979, Shor & Freire 1987, and Moore 1993a & b.)

The desire to operate in this way, which also had implications for the sharing of my research findings with those teachers and institutions involved in the project itself⁴, arose chiefly from a theory developed through the course of the research project, that in a culturally biased school system individual teachers were being constrained to perceive 'invisible' cultural preferences in students' work and output in terms of cognitive or linguistic deficiencies. This phenomenon is described in detail in the main body of the thesis, most notably in **Part Three, Case Studies at**

Company Road, and is developed there as the central theory of the thesis.

1.4 Withdrawing and 'Supporting' Bilingual Pupils: Central Issues

Of published literature on organisation for bilingual pupils' learning, I quickly became aware that, although the withdrawal of bilingual pupils from mainstream classes was still a widespread practice in the schools I had worked in and visited during the 'seventies and 'eighties, there was very little research to support such an arrangement⁵. By contrast, there was a growing body of literature arguing for comprehensive packages of in-school reforms in the teaching of bilingual pupils in British schools (see, for example, Richards 1976, Brumfit & Johnson 1979, Krashen 1982, Dulay, Burt & Krashen 1982 and Wiles 1985.) These included not only the integration of such pupils into mainstream classes, but provision and time for them to develop skills in their own first languages, and calls for new pedagogies that gave primacy to previous and ongoing learning and language experiences, focussing on what such pupils already could do rather than on what they could not (see also Selinker 1974 and Miller 1983).

Much of this theory had arisen out of a radical change in how bilingualism was perceived, away from the view quoted by

Appel & Muysken (1987) that "human beings have a certain potential, or perhaps neural and psychological capacity, for language learning" so that "knowing one language restricts the possibilities for learning other languages", towards a belief that bilingualism is, on the contrary, a potential linguistic and academic advantage. This view had, in turn, been supported by a range of published research suggesting clear benefits for bilingual pupils, both in terms of second-language acquisition and, over monolingual peers, in terms of general cognitive development, provided such pupils were given opportunities to develop skills in their first languages alongside the learning of a second language. (See, in particular, Peal & Lambert 1962, Liedke & Nelson 1968, Ianco-Worrall 1972, Bain 1974, Cummins and Gulatsan 1974, Bullock 1975, Swann 1985, Wright 1985, Ben-Zeev 1977, Swain & Lapkin 1982, and the Linguistic Minorities Project 1985.) This research had included a number of intensive longitudinal studies of bilingual pupils in school situations, including Malherbe 1946, Phillips 1972, San Diego City Schools 1975, and Carey & Cummins 1983⁶.

In a particularly important contribution to the support-versus-withdrawal debate in British schools (important, that is, because the contribution was aimed specifically at practising teachers), Levine (1983 & 1990) has provided a useful summary of the central points of disagreement.

Taking a 'pro-support', 'anti-withdrawal' perspective and quoting in her support a range of literature (Barnes 1976, Barnes & Todd 1977, HMSO 1979, Martin et al 1976, Mercer 1981, and Wells 1981), Levine argues that everything we know about language and learning development points to bilingual children being educated in mainstream classes alongside monolingual peers. Since this is the norm of educational provision for all children, the onus, she argues, is on the 'withdrawers' to prove the case for deviating from such a system. Such a case Levine finds unproven. Taking the withdrawers' central argument that bilingual children experience most mainstream classes as "places of incomprehension and racism", she suggests that "special language classes can be equally poor places of learning", since

neither the children nor the teachers have access to a wide enough curriculum, socially the children are ghettoised, and the specialist provision (with honourable exceptions) is too much based on the linguistic structures in isolation from the natural contexts in which they occur.

(Levine 1983, p.1. See also Wright, 1985 p.6, and, for a more comprehensive survey of the 'support-withdrawal' debate, Levine 1990. A more recent and very useful

summary of a wide range of issues related to bilingualism and education is also to be found in Baker 1993.)

Levine concludes that moves to withdraw bilingual pupils from mainstream classes for specialist language work have come about not so much out of observations and understandings of such pupils' needs and processes as out of a prioritisation of teachers' needs, including the plea of mainstream teachers to be able to get on with their 'normal work' without having to deal with non-English-speaking pupils. Such an analysis offers one reason why a synthesis or resolution of contradictory views on support-versus-withdrawal has proved so difficult for institutions: that is to say, the location of the debate in the domain of pupils' needs may have been fundamentally dishonest. (For a related argument, suggesting that schools use pupil-focussed "formal equality" as a "cloak and a justification" for practices which actually promote inequality, see Bourdieu 1974.)

Levine's arguments against withdrawing pupils for specialist language provision within mainstream institutions - that is to say, providing withdrawal classes in ordinary secondary schools - finds an interesting corollary in the Calderdale Enquiry, 1986. This enquiry, carried out by the Commission for Racial Equality, investigated organisational provision for bilingual pupils within an entire education authority

- Calderdale, in West Yorkshire - where the policy was to provide specialist help for recently-arrived bilingual pupils by withdrawing them not simply from mainstream classes but from the mainstream system: that is, through the establishment of separate language units, attended exclusively by bilingual pupils who were newly arrived in this country and deemed to have insufficient knowledge of English to be able to follow the normal secondary-school curriculum.

The Calderdale Enquiry concluded that

Calderdale's arrangements for ESL teaching amounted to an indirectly discriminatory practice contrary to the Race Relations Act 1976

and that, as a recommendation,

funds under Section 11⁷ of the Local Government Act 1966 for ESL teachers should only be made available to LEAs whose system for teaching ESL either is, or is moving towards, a system integrated with mainstream schooling.

Among a range of objections to the establishment and running of the Authority's language units, the report highlighted specific organisational problems compatible with those

described by Levine in relation to the withdrawal of pupils within mainstream schools. In particular:

Their curriculum is not always as extensive or of the same depth as the curriculum of children in mainstream schooling.

and

Their language development and learning process are hindered by not taking place in an environment where they learn alongside native speakers of English with a full curriculum.

(Commission for Racial Equality 1986, pp. 5 & 17)

Interestingly, both Levine and Calderdale impute 'teacherly' motives to organisational preferences that have been initially argued, within institutions, on the basis of doing the best for one's students. Levine goes further, however, to suggest that the organisational debate has itself been something of a diversion from what ought to be the central issue: that is to say, not how we organise provision for our bilingual pupils, but how we actually work with them in the classroom⁸. If teachers are perpetually constrained by a debate as to whether bilingual pupils should be in one particular space rather than another, this effectively

precludes what is potentially the more important debate about effective pedagogy. Levine has recently pursued this argument in favour of prioritising pedagogical issues, by describing pedagogy as "the missing concept" (Levine 1992).⁹

1.5 Prioritising Aims: The Need for Descriptive Accounts of Classroom Practice

The notion that pedagogy should be prioritised is repeated in the work of the linguist James Cummins. Cummins (1984) describes two oppositional views on provision for bilingual pupils prevalent in the United States of America: the notion of "maximum exposure", which argues that "limited English proficient students need as much exposure to English as possible", and the notion of "linguistic mismatch", which argues that "a home-school language switch or 'linguistic mismatch' will almost inevitably result in academic retardation since children cannot learn in a language they do not understand" (Cummins 1984, p.109). The notion of "maximum exposure" leads, typically, to the adoption of 'language immersion programmes', whereby bilingual pupils are exposed only, or nearly always, to the main language of instruction while they are in school. The notion of "linguistic mismatch", on the other hand, is used to support 'bilingual education programmes', in which bilingual pupils receive all or part of their initial teaching of the

curriculum through the medium of their own strongest language¹⁰.

Cummins' conclusion is that the advantages and disadvantages of "maximum exposure" and "linguistic mismatch" do not provide the most useful topic for debate, since

There are many examples of successful academic development under home-school language switch conditions [ie. pupils 'immersed' in mainstream classes] and virtually all the empirical data show that there is no direct relationship between exposure to the majority language in a bilingual programme and achievement in that language. Similarly, data regarding language use in the homes of bilingual children refute both the maximum exposure and linguistic mismatch assumptions.

(Cummins 1984, p.109)

Cummins' scepticism as to the relevance of the "maximum-exposure"/"linguistic mismatch" debate leads him towards a prioritisation of more strictly pedagogical issues, including the importance of teachers' perceptions of bilingual pupils' capabilities in relation to those of monolingual pupils, and the issue of how these perceptions relate to often outmoded theories of cognitive-linguistic development. In support of his argument, Cummins quotes

Moll (1981, pp. 439-440), who contrasts observations of high-level comprehension-oriented literacy activities taking place among a "high ability" reading group in a Spanish (L1) lesson, with activities undertaken by the same group in an L2 (English) classroom, wherein the students are compelled to focus on "the mechanical tasks of practising decoding skills, word sounds or lexical meaning". This pedagogical mismatch is attributed by Moll to the English teacher's apparent assumption (implicitly questioned by the author) that "decoding is a prerequisite to comprehension" and that "correct pronunciation is the best index of decoding" (Moll 1981, p.439).

An increasing conviction of the appropriateness of Levine's and Cummins' analyses, and a growing awareness that there was also a shortage of published research on actual classroom practice in relation to bilingual pupils, accounts both for my second aim - to investigate and evaluate methods of teaching bilingual pupils regardless of the organisational situations in which they were taught - and for the fact that, as the research project developed, this aim became the central aim. I was particularly concerned by Cummins' and Moll's observations on the impact of teachers' perceptions of bilingual pupils, and this concern was central in my decision to adopt a qualitative approach to the research project, which would include the

detailed examination of such perceptions, rather than a quantitative one which would not.

In the event, I found examples of learning-teaching interactions in both 'withdrawal' and 'support' situations that appeared to be beneficial to bilingual pupils, as well as interactions in both situations that appeared to be detrimental. Many of these examples, as we shall see, supported very strongly the findings of both Cummins (the need to prioritise teacher perceptions of bilingual pupils) and Moll (those perceptions often leading to the promotion of over-simplified and consequently unhelpful classroom activities). At both institutions, for example, there was abundant evidence of teachers using particular 'Piagetian' theories of development, both to diagnose bilingual pupils' capabilities and to select unhelpful pedagogies that prioritised basic, low-level conceptual-linguistic activities¹¹.

A second, equally important reason for wanting to prioritise issues of pedagogy relates to the nature of much of the pedagogy-oriented research that already existed at the time my own project began.

I have already noted the shortage of research based on analytical observations of actual classroom practice. Despite that shortage, there was, however, no lack of

interesting theory and hypothesis related to bilingual pupils' schooling and development, much of which suggested the need for such observation by way of illumination and support. One such theory was that of "cultural mismatch". This notion, referred to by Cummins (1984) and partially developed in Phillips (1972), Au (1980) and Guthrie and Hall (1983), takes as its starting-point the notion of Common Underlying Proficiency, explored in some detail in **Parts Two and Three** of this thesis: that is to say, a belief that a large number of language skills and awarenesses developed in one language are broadly similar to those of other languages - and therefore 'transferable' between languages - however different the languages may appear on the surface¹².

A correlate of Common Underlying Proficiency is an understanding that not all of the 'hidden' aspects of language are transferable, but that some are culture-specific. This latter notion has led to several linguists positing cultural mismatch as a reason for bilingual pupils experiencing difficulty in second-language acquisition in particular and in experiences of schooling in general. To quote Guthrie and Hall, cultural mismatch theory suggests that, between languages, "cultural differences in language use do exist" (my emphasis). The difficulty, they argue, lies in identifying them, since "these differences are subtle and largely unconscious" and consequently "not

available to the casual, or even interested, observer" (Guthrie & Hall, 1983 p.73).

A further difficulty with cultural mismatch theory, not referred to by Guthrie and Hall, is that it has hitherto focussed exclusively on patterns of classroom interaction in which oral exchanges and matters of 'behaviour' have primacy. Phillips (1972), for example, has focussed on the ways in which culture-specific rules will determine behaviour related to participation in whole-class instruction, small group work and individual work, and how mismatches may occur between behaviour learned at home and behaviour expected in school. (For descriptions of how cultural mismatches can affect monolingual pupils, including the effects on their writing and on the assessment of their writing in schools, see Brice Heath 1983 and Moore 1987.)

As my own project developed, I became increasingly interested in developing the theory of cultural mismatch, to include cultural mismatches that were located in bilingual pupils' written and graphic outputs and that related to differing home-school perceptions of what represented appropriate styles, forms and genres, subsequently relating such mismatches to notions of "cultural capital" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977) and "cultural materialism" (Dollimore & Sinfield, 1985)¹³. At one of the two institutions

participating in the project, for example, I began to explore differences in a schoolteacher's understandings of what made a good love story with those of a bilingual pupil, and of how this 'invisible' mismatch helped direct the teacher to an unhelpful pedagogy, not least because it was invisible¹⁴. This particular study, described in some detail in Part Three of the thesis, illustrates how, from the pupil's point of view, his own cultural preferences were (Bourdieu & Passeron) "symbolically violated" through being treated by the teacher not as preferences but as examples of ignorance and error.

1.6 Summary

In this chapter I have outlined the organisational debate in some schools as to whether, and to what extent, bilingual pupils should be withdrawn from standard lessons for specialist tuition or whether their learning should, principally, be supported in mainstream classes.

I have suggested that an equally pressing issue, and one that has tended to be overlooked within the terms of this debate, relates to how teachers interact with bilingual learners regardless of the organisational set-up. I have referred to misunderstandings between teachers and pupils, and I have used the term 'cultural mismatch' in relation to such misunderstandings.

I have described a central aim of the thesis as the development of such pedagogical issues and, in particular, of the presentation of detailed case-studies of apparently successful and apparently unsuccessful classroom practice. I have suggested that such studies might prove a useful tool for teachers in the interrogation of their own classroom practice.

Before elaborating these issues further, it is first necessary to describe the manner in which the case studies were compiled and in which the data for them was gathered. This is the task of the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO: RESEARCH DESIGN - SAMPLE,
DATA COLLECTION AND THEORY

2.1 Selection of Schools and Pupils

The initial aims of the project - to investigate the advantages and disadvantages of different organisational as well as pedagogical provision for bilingual pupils in secondary education - meant that research needed to be carried out at institutions that (a) espoused different views from one another as to what appropriate organisation and pedagogy were, and (b) provided sufficient instances within themselves of different pedagogies in action. By selecting a mainstream school that was in the process of moving from an emphasis on teaching by withdrawal to one of supporting pupils in the mainstream, along with an off-site language unit that taught exclusively by withdrawal, access could be gained to the widest spectrum not only of actual provision and pedagogy but also of the arguments and theories underpinning them.

The essentially qualitative, descriptive nature of the project, referred to in Chapter One above, also suggested it would be more profitable to concentrate on observing a relatively small number of pupils and institutions over a long period than drawing data from a large number of pupils and institutions over a relatively short one - an option

more suited to quantitative research methods, whereby a large number of subjects can be reached quickly but 'at a distance' by the researcher.

Finally, it seemed advantageous to work with different institutions providing access to pupils from very similar home-language backgrounds. This would eliminate important variables which might otherwise confuse and invalidate data analysis. Chief among these variables were:

1. existing levels of literacy: that is to say, some bilingual pupils arrived in British schools with higher levels of 'transferable' literacy¹ in their first language than other bilingual pupils, usually dependent on previous experiences of schooling;
2. differences in cultural traditions: that is to say, the traditions of some bilingual pupils in areas such as artistic representation or storytelling were likely to resemble more closely those of their adopted country than was the case with other bilingual pupils; additionally, the school curricula already followed by bilingual pupils in their native countries would vary in its closeness to or difference from the British school curriculum;

3. differences in the immediate relation of existing literacy skills to the literacy skills demanded of the second language - in, for example, the extent to which scripts already learned in one language resembled or differed from the script used for English.

2.2 Bangladeshis in Britain

In the event, the choice of a common home-language background was helped by the publication, shortly before the start of the research project, of the first draft of a Home Affairs Committee document 'Bangladeshis in Britain' (House of Commons, December 1986). This report outlined several ways in which Bangladeshi families living in Britain experienced greater difficulties and hardships than other immigrant groups, with some suggested reasons as to why this might be and some tentative recommendations as to what might be done about it. Volume 1, Section 4 of the report (pp. xiii - xviii) dealt specifically with the education of Bangladeshi children in Britain, and identified as a central problem these children's "lack of fluency" in English: it was indicated, for example, that in 1983 this problem had been noted in "74 per cent of 15 year old Bengali speakers" in ILEA schools (1986, p.xiii).

The Report had gone on to identify eight specific reasons for this lack of fluency and for the general perceived

underachievement of Bangladeshi children in school. These were: (1) the arrival in Britain of such pupils after the compulsory school age; (2) missing school after arrival in Britain; (3) a shortage of schooling in the Sylhet and the fact that most teaching there is in Bengali, resulting in many children having experienced little or no schooling prior to arriving in Britain and little or no exposure to English (many pupils, the report claimed, were "illiterate in their own first language"); (4) poor living conditions in Britain - coupled with parents often being unable to speak any English; (5) racial hostility, which is likely to "undermine the child's confidence and sense of belonging, and may in some cases impair his or her ability to make the most of what schools have to offer"; (6) low expectations by teachers; (7) frequent changes of teacher; (8) cultural differences, "such as fasting by older children during Ramadan, which reduces their capacity for learning".

Though the 'Bangladeshis in Britain' report had contained some indications of recognising the value of bilingualism (p.xviii, para. 68) and biculturalism (p.xvii, para. 59), as well as the importance of promoting in schools genuine linguistic and cultural pluralism (p.xvii, para.59), it had been lacking in detailed evidence, relying often on the unchallenged impressions of individual teachers, and had provided little specific advice to schools more detailed than: "Low expectations of ethnic minority pupils by

teachers can be very damaging. In this and other respects teachers need training which will equip them to teach ethnic minority and other children in ethnically diverse classrooms" (p.xvi, para. 57). Furthermore, the reasons it had given for Bangladeshi pupils' underachievement had either emphasised factors strictly external to school life (specifically, numbers 1,2,3 and 8 above), implying that these were circumstances which, if they could be changed at all, could only be changed by the actions of Bangladeshis themselves, or, where they had referred to school experiences, had failed to expand these reasons into suggestions for improved organisational or pedagogical practice.

The highlighting of Bangladeshi children as a group who appeared to be consistently failing in school, along with the lack of practical suggestions as to what schools themselves might contribute in remedying this situation, suggested a particular value in focussing my own research on Bangladeshi pupils. In particular, I hoped to supplement the rather superficial, generalised observations of the Report with some more detailed analyses of what actually happened to Bangladeshi pupils in the secondary-school classroom, of the perceptions that their teachers had of them, and of how those perceptions shaped the provision that was on offer to them. In doing this, it was important not to accept too readily the Report's underlying assumption,

based on test and examination results and school records, that Bangladeshi pupils did, indeed, tend to remain less fluent in English than groups of pupils from other 'ethnic minority' backgrounds.

The selection of Bangladeshi pupils as the group on whom the project would focus provided a precise fit with my other selection criteria (referred to above), resulting in an approach to two institutions, in different parts of the same English city, which had large numbers of Bangladeshi pupils. These institutions will be referred to throughout as Kursal Lane Language Centre and Company Road Secondary School. Fuller descriptions of the institutions and their policies towards bilingual pupils are given in the main body of the thesis; however, it is appropriate to indicate at this point some of the major differences between them in their approaches to their Bangladeshi pupils.

2.3 Kursal Lane and Company Road: Major Differences in Policy and Attitudes Towards Newly-Arrived Bilingual Pupils

The major areas of difference in the two target institutions' policies and attitudes towards their newly-arrived or stage 1 bilingual pupils can be summarised under the headings 'Attitudes Towards Pupils' First Language Development', and 'Policies Related to the Curriculum'

(see also Figure 1 below). Each of these areas is, as we shall see, inextricably linked to the institutions' views on the value or otherwise of Bilingual Education: that is to say, the practice of teaching aspects of the same school curriculum through the medium of more than one language of instruction.

At Kursal Lane, first-language use was unofficially banned from the classroom, on the basis that it was, to quote one teacher, "the Centre's job to teach these kids English": that is to say, the Centre had adopted an 'immersion' approach to its teaching of L2. This was in spite of the fact that several of the staff were bilingual themselves and that two of the Centre's fifteen teachers were fluent in Bengali. Pupils who tried to converse with one another in their first languages in classroom situations were quickly instructed to switch to English, and it was a rare occurrence indeed for any teacher to address a pupil in any language other than English.

This emphasis on English also impacted on the extent and nature of the curriculum offered at the Centre. Put simply, curriculum content was 'language led' (see Chapter Four below). That is to say, the cognitive or affective input of any lesson was strictly controlled so as to provide a match with the teachers' collective notion of the pupils' competence in English. This resulted in pupils of

secondary-school age often being taught concepts and skills more commonly associated in monolingual schools with pupils of primary-school age - for example, arithmetical and basic measuring skills in mathematics as opposed to the development of concepts such as ratio and proportion - on the grounds that they did not have the (L2) language competence to accommodate higher-level thinking. It also resulted in language and learning being treated as two separate strands of development. (As the Head of Science put it: "We teach the language first and then the concepts.") A further restriction on the curriculum offered at the Centre was caused by a shortage of facilities and staffing expertise. This resulted in no Drama, Foreign Languages or Technology being offered to the pupils, while Music was restricted to pupil-generated inputs such as clapping and singing supported by the use of very rudimentary instruments such as tambourines, triangles and sticks.

At Company Road, by contrast, the use of first languages was actively encouraged for stage 1 learners in mainstream classes, both in oral work (eg. small-group work) and in writing, while for Bangladeshi pupils timetabled lessons were available in Standard Bengali throughout years 7-11, including an upper-school examination option. Additionally, continuing first-language tuition for many of the school's bilingual pupils was supported by the school through

allowing its premises to be used for 'twilight' lessons in Chinese, Spanish and Bengali. ESL teachers at the school were aware of and supported the Common Underlying Proficiency theory of language development referred to under 1.5 above: that is to say, the view that different languages have, 'under the surface', much in common in terms of styles and structures and that language skills learned through the medium of one language are often 'transferable' in learning a second. The school's Headteacher was himself convinced of the potential advantages of bilingualism and of the school's duty to realise these advantages, repeatedly urging his education authority to provide additional bilingual teaching staff to enable some degree of genuine bilingual education to take place. A very real desire at the school to develop bilingual education was thus thwarted purely by a lack of staffing resources: at the time of the field research, very few members of staff were bilingual themselves, and the school had only one Bengali-speaking teacher. Since this teacher was primary-trained and consequently unable to teach in any subject area through the medium of Bengali, her work was confined to Bengali language classes through which Bangladeshi pupils had an opportunity to maintain and develop their first-language skills but not to follow the mainstream curriculum through the medium of that first language.

Second language provision for bilingual children at Company Road had traditionally focussed on expert help being offered through a high rate of withdrawal from mainstream classes by a large department of trained ESL teachers²: as much as 60% in some cases, averaging out at a little over 40%. There was a growing conviction at the school, however, that bilingual pupils should have as much exposure to the standard curriculum as possible, and by the time my field research had ended most stage 1 bilingual pupils were spending most of their time in mainstream classes working alongside monolingual anglophones and more established bilinguals, with trained ESL teachers coming into the classroom to help them 'in situ'. From my point of view, I was thus able to observe at Company Road not only ESL lessons in which small groups of bilingual pupils were given specialist help by being withdrawn from normal lessons, but those same pupils at work in mainstream classes both with and without the support of ESL specialists.

The differences in provision offered to newly-arrived Bangladeshi pupils at Kursal Lane and Company Road, summarised in Figure 1 below, had provided one central reason for wanting to work with these particular institutions rather than other institutions visited prior to the start of the project³.

A second reason, however, had concerned the differing natures of teacher debates within the two institutions concerning provision for their bilingual pupils. At Company Road, the move away from the extensive withdrawal of bilingual pupils for intensive L2 work towards a model of in-class support had been accompanied by a wideranging and often intense debate as to whether or not bilingualism was - or could be, given current levels of educational resourcing - an advantage to bilingual pupils, and whether it was right, given those levels of resourcing, for mainstream teachers to be asked to teach them: that is to say, there was an internal debate as to whether and for what proportion of their time newly-arrived bilingual pupils should be in mainstream classes or in small withdrawal groups, with several teachers firmly opposed to the move towards increased 'support'⁴. This situation contrasted sharply with that at Kursal Lane, where, as we shall see, the teachers were unanimous in their support for the Centre's organisational set-up. Here, I was able to witness the articulation of a collective argument in favour of total withdrawal - that is to say, not just from mainstream classes but from mainstream schools - in the face of diametrically opposite arguments not from inside the institution itself but from an external source. This external source was the local education authority, which had decided, just prior to the start of the project, to follow

the Calderdale example (cf. Chapter One) and close the Centre down.

These debates revealed key differences in philosophy at the two institutions, which helped explain different pedagogical approaches and which were indispensable in interpreting what teachers were doing and trying to do. At Kursal Lane, for example, the teachers had been recruited into a system that was already fixed: a newly established institution, with a very clearly defined philosophy, that could not change its attitude towards the withdrawal of bilingual pupils for special educational provision, since to do so would be to deny the very reason for its existence. Teachers entering the Centre knew what they were coming into and that they would need to espouse the Centre's philosophical and theoretical assumptions. At Company Road, on the other hand, the teachers had not necessarily come to the school to teach bilingual pupils, or even, in many cases, prepared to teach bilingual pupils: nor, with the exception of ESL specialists, did they generally appear to have arrived with firm ideas about the relative merits of withdrawal and support. Their ideas on this subject had often, particularly in the case of staff who had spent some time at the school and had witnessed major changes of clientele over the years, grown up out of and in response to the arrival of large numbers of bilingual pupils into their classrooms. Some had come to view the presence of such

pupils as a benefit, others as a challenge, and yet others as a problem. Those who had come to see it as a very serious problem had, not unexpectedly, been among the strongest advocates of the greater withdrawal of such pupils from mainstream classes.

Figure 1: Comparison Between Basic Provision for New Bangladeshi Pupils at the Two Case-Study Institutions

| | Kursal Lane | Company Road |
|------------------|--|---|
| L1 | Use of L1 discouraged. L2 'immersion' model. | L1 encouraged: allowed in class, inc. written tasks. Mainstream and 'twilight' Bengali classes. |
| Curriculum | Modified curriculum: restricted content and range: 'led' by language inputs. | Pupils follow mainstream curriculum but miss some elements through withdrawal. |
| Bi-Lingual Input | Several teachers bilingual but rarely made use of in class. | Very few bilingual teachers. One Bengali speaker to promote L1 development. No area of curriculum taught through Bengali. |

2.4 Frequency and Density of Observations

At both Kursal Lane and Company Road, the bulk of the field research was carried out within one academic year (September 1987 - July 1988), with follow-up visits made during the ensuing six months. The purpose of these follow-up visits was to report back provisional findings to

individual teachers, and to interrogate initial descriptions and analyses by observing classroom situations similar to those seen and written about previously. At Kursal Lane six such visits were made: three visits of one day each in the first three-month period, followed by three more in the second three-month period. At Company Road two subsequent visits of one week each were made during the corresponding periods. Figure 2 illustrates the frequency and density of visits made during the whole project, the general purpose of the visits, the range of classes observed, and the numbers of Sylheti-Bangladeshi pupils in each targeted class.

Access at Company Road, negotiated principally through a Deputy Headteacher, was restricted to classes taught by individual teachers. Permission was given to approach teachers in person and to have access to whatever records they saw fit to share. In the event, I was able to observe classes across the whole curriculum, focussing my observations on two particular classes - one in year 7 and one in year 10 - and visiting other year 7 and year 10 classes and teachers for purposes of comparison and to assess typicality.

Access at Kursal Lane, negotiated through the Headteacher, allowed free access to all areas of the Centre, to any class I wanted to visit, and to all official records. In the event, I focussed my researches on two classes at the

Centre, whom I observed on a once- or twice-weekly basis across the full range of the curriculum during the course of one academic year. The classes contained mainly younger (Year 7) pupils, judged to have little or no proficiency in spoken or written English.

Fig.2 Research Design: Frequency and Purpose of School Visits

| | Kursal Lane | Company Road |
|-----------------------------|---|--|
| Target classes | Main focus: one class of 11-12 year olds, one of 11-15 year olds. Twelve in each class, six Sylhetis in each class. Secondary focus: all other classes, across age and subject range. | Main focus: One Y7 class. Twenty-seven in class, including eight Sylhetis. One Y10 class. Twenty-eight in class including ten Sylhetis. Secondary focus: parallel Y7 & 10 classes |
| Main Visits | Whole day, once/twice weekly over one school year ⁵ . | Two-week blocks, three times a term over one school year. |
| Purpose of Main Visits | Observations of target pupils in a range of subjects with a range of teachers; formal and informal interviews with staff and pupils; collection/analysis of pupils' work. | |
| Follow-Up Visits | Three visits, one day each, during the following Autumn term; three more in the Spring term. | Two visits, one week each, one in the following Autumn term, one in the Spring term |
| Purpose of Follow-up Visits | Observations of target pupils, follow-up interviews with pupils and teachers, collection/analysis of pupils' work, sharing of interim reports with teachers in order to re-interrogate previous data and conclusions, collection of outstanding statistical data required for final report. | |

2.5 Collecting Data: Ethnography and Theory

Having made reference to the kinds of data collected, it is necessary to say a brief word about how selections were made from them and what theoretical assumptions underpinned their analysis.

The broad theoretical approach within which the project was carried out was ethnographic (Wolcott 1975, Woods 1977). That is to say (Wolcott 1975, p.112), it would seek to present a "picture" of the way of life of a particular "interacting human group" - or in this case, groups - essentially through a process of watching them go about their daily lives and seeking out, through interview and conversation, their own perceptions of what was happening and their reasons for acting as they did. In doing this, full recognition would be given to Woods' (1977) account of the essential qualities by which ethnographic research is characterised: that is to say, it is thorough; it is essentially descriptive; and it focuses on single human groups (Woods 1977 p.12).

The ethnographer's approach is to assume the role of "participant observer", taking, as far as possible, a "normal part in the culture and life of the group [or institution they are studying]" in order to observe the

everyday processes of interaction as they happen, without intervention (Woods 1977, pp.41-2). Such an approach prioritises the description of "normal" processes and interactions as opposed to the collection of data from strictly experimental situations, and places great value and emphasis on data relating to the views and perceptions of the group being studied (cf. Burgess 1984, p.78).

My own role as participant observer at Kursal Lane and Company Road entailed the keeping of detailed records of what I saw and heard (see also Appendix 1), while at the same time taking part in a range of activities: for example, helping teachers in the classroom by dealing with pupils' queries about work, attending staff meetings, spending time with pupils in the playground and over lunch, and responding to teachers' requests for opinions on lesson plans and evaluations. Unable to take a wholly "normal" role in the strictest sense of the word, insofar as both pupils and teachers at the institutions understood that I was neither a teacher nor a pupil⁶, my actual role corresponded more closely to what Gold (1958, p.220) has termed the "participant-as-observer": that is to say, one who gathers observational data not by becoming a 'full member' of the group under study but by "developing relationships with informants" through observations that may sometimes be formal "as in scheduled interview situations" and sometimes informal⁷. (See also Becker 1958, p.652.)

If the role of the ethnographer is to find out something about the ways groups of people interact through joining them in their usual daily activities, there are implications, clearly, for the kinds of data the ethnographer will gather, the ways in which they will be gathered, and their relation to any theory they appear to fit.

Woods (1977, p.51) has described how, by deriving theory from the research data rather than using such data to test out an a priori theory through hypothesis-testing, the ethnographer typically seeks to "generate" theory from observations and to "ground it in the facts".

This notion of 'grounding' theory, initially elaborated by Glaser and Strauss (1967)⁸, involves the researcher in the collection of often vast amounts of data early on in the research project (see, for example, Stubbs 1983 and Hammersley 1984) and gradually refining what is collected through a system of "progressive focussing" and "theoretical sampling" as theory is generated and clarified. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.45) describe this as:

the process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects, codes, and analyzes [the] data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop [a] theory as it

emerges. This process of data collection is controlled by the emerging theory.⁹

A fuller description of how this process came to operate in my own research project, including how the practice of 'coding' was used, is given in **Appendix 1**. (This coding was a purely practical device, of as much value in enabling me to find my way about the data as of making sense of it. It is not to be confused with the formal labelling of classroom interactions criticised by, for example, Barnes 1972 or Stubbs 1976, p.92.) As an example of how theory came to be generated from the data, however, and subsequently influenced the kinds and amounts of data collected - involving a progressive reduction in data collection - it is worth referring again to the shift of emphasis that occurred as the project developed, away from matters of organisation towards matters of pedagogy.

As it became increasingly clear from the range of observations made that successful and unsuccessful pedagogies could be found within a range of organisational set-ups, including both withdrawal classes and mainstream support, my observations and analyses came to be increasingly focussed upon teaching strategies and outcomes, so that fewer data were collected that related specifically or exclusively to matters of organisation. This pedagogical focus, was, in turn, narrowed down to a

focus on teachers' encouragements and discouragements of various culture-specific genres and preferences, once it became clear that, even in classrooms characterised by pupil-centred, 'constructivist' models of teaching and learning, bilingual pupils were just as subject to limitations on what discourses they could initiate or take part in as similar pupils in classes characterised by more 'traditional', teacher-led pedagogies. This led to the generation of a central theory that teachers too often mistook culture-related mismatches (between, for instance, the school's norms and values and the pupils' 'home' norms and values) for cognitive-psychological deficiencies. This theory could subsequently be both interrogated and developed by speaking to teachers specifically about how they perceived non-standard outcomes and presentations in their Bangladeshi pupils' work. From the great volume of original data, a series of case studies could finally be presented around this emergent theme: effectively, a set of 'snapshots', chosen from that much larger mass of data for their typicality, their validity, their relevance, and the clarity with which they illuminated the key issues (cf. Woods 1979 p.267).

2.6 Triangulation and Analysis

A central criticism of 'grounded theory' - and indeed of the ethnographic approach generally - is that it may not be as

'open-minded' or disinterested as it purports to be. It is not unreasonable to suggest, for example, that, as with all research, a theory in various stages of development may have existed in the researcher's head unconsciously or unacknowledged, prior to the research project being undertaken, and that the data gathered and their analysis might simply serve to bring such theory more fully into the researcher's consciousness. Blumer (1962, p.188) has acknowledged this potential difficulty in his suggestion that in research projects involving participant observation priority has to be given to the interpretations of events and phenomena on the part of those being observed - what Blumer calls 'the acting units' - in order to prevent researchers substituting their own interpretations on the 'acting units'' behalf. Woods, too, has stressed the importance in educational research of seeking out teachers' aims and perspectives before describing or identifying practice (Woods 1992, p.352), and Hammersley has expressed similar concerns about what he calls "naive realism", whereby the researcher acts on "the idea that there is a single world independent of us about which we have direct (and therefore certain) knowledge": (Hammersley 1993, p.61).¹⁰

With Blumer's point in mind, it became my policy at both Kursal Lane and Company Road to check back with teachers and - where appropriate and possible - with pupils, to ensure

that they had indeed meant what I believed they had meant and said what they had intended to say.¹¹

Just as important as the way the researcher observes, however, is the way in which the researcher selects data for analysis and then carries that analysis out. As Hammersley has argued:

the selectivity necessarily involved in research activity will shape the data and findings, and [...] researchers are by no means immune to the effects of interests and values.

(Hammersley 1984, p.41. See also Gouldner 1971, pp.50-1, and Woods 1977, p.11.)

A potential advantage of qualitative over quantitative research is that it can not only provide much richer, more complex data, but that it involves, almost inevitably, the necessity to check the validity of both data and analysis of data with the 'acting units', engaging in an ongoing dialogue with them in ways in which one cannot interrogate statistics. In practical terms, the observations of Blumer and Hammersley simply reassert and refine the general principles of ethnography summarised by Woods (1977). They remind us that ethnographic research must be wideranging and thorough, calling upon a range of sources

both human (the views of different teachers, for example, in relation to the same pupil or situation) and human-produced (for example, checking the observations a teacher makes in a pupil's book against observations of the pupil's work and progress made in interview), and that both sources and their interpretation must be carefully checked with their producers.

In the light of this, a research programme was designed that comprised data collection from a range of sources, principally in the form of field-notes and audio tape-recordings but including also samples of pupils' work, copies of whole-school policy statements, and examples of teachers' lesson notes and evaluations (see Figures 2 and 3).

In addition to collecting a wide range of data, it was, of course, important to examine and interpret these data in the light of each other: for instance, to examine what a teacher might have said to a pupil in class with what the teacher says of the pupil away from the classroom, with any written reports the teacher makes on the pupil's work and progress, or with what another teacher may have said about that same pupil. This method of comparing and checking, often referred to as 'triangulation' (eg. Glaser & Strauss 1967, Stubbs 1983), may not serve to 'prove' a point or to

demonstrate a theory, but it certainly helps the researcher to avoid jumping to conclusions.

Figure 3: Sources and Kinds of Field Data

| Principal Sources | Method of Collection |
|--|---|
| Observation of lessons involving target pupils. | Initial unedited audio tapes and subsequent selections of data. |
| Formal interviews with 'key' personnel: Heads of Department, Deputy Headteachers etc. | Initial unedited audio tapes and subsequent selections of data. |
| Informal interviews with target pupils and their teachers. | Notes made at time of interview, edited at a later date. |
| Attendance at formal and informal meetings of staff at which were discussed target pupils, schemes of work, or policies/views toward bilingual pupils (eg. timetabled meetings/ staff-room conversations). | Notes made at time of meeting, edited at a later date. |
| Additional Sources | Method of Collection |
| Samples of target and non-target pupils' work. | Work examined in class or 'on loan', notes and occasionally photo-copies taken. |
| Whole - school and departmental policies on 'bilingual' pupils, language, etc. | Copies taken away for inspection, notes and photocopies taken. |
| Observations of lessons involving non-target pupils. | Audio-tapes and notes, with subsequent selections. |
| Samples of target teachers' marking, mark schemes and schemes of work. | Notes made at time of examination, edited later. |

A central method and rationale of applying triangulation techniques in my own project involved the active seeking-out of data from 'alternative' sources that would not fit any emergent theories quite so well as existing data. Thus, when it appeared that two particular teachers were interpreting their bilingual pupils' classroom products as faulty rather than as merely different (cf. **Part Three: Case Studies at Company Road**), it was important to observe those teachers working with other bilingual and monolingual pupils in other classes, as well as discussing with them their views on general cognitive, affective and linguistic development. When it was clear that the original diagnosis stood up under such cross-examination, analysed descriptions of classroom interactions that had initially given rise to the theory could be written up as illustrative of a particular pedagogy.

2.7 Interpreting Data: Theoretical Perspectives

Regardless of any theoretical bias arising from previous observations of teachers working with bilingual pupils, I remained aware throughout the research project that, since the project clearly combined sociological with linguistic perspectives, I would need to draw on a correspondingly 'cross-disciplinary' range of theory in any analysis of the data I collected. The chief of these broader theoretical perspectives can be summarised as follows:

- (1) Language and Learning Development (both cognitive-psychological, as in the work of Vygotsky 1962, and socio-cognitive/socio-linguistic, as in the work of Barnes 1976, Labov 1970, 1972, Stubbs 1976, 1983 and Edwards & Mercer 1987);
- (2) Bilingualism and Bilingual Education (with particular reference to Selinker 1972, Levine 1983, 1990 and Cummins 1984);
- (3) Discourse Theory and Analysis (with particular reference to the work of Foucault 1977, 1992, Bakhtin 1986, Volosinov 1986 and Edwards & Mercer 1987);
- (4) Schooling and Cultural Reproduction (a sociological perspective, with particular reference to Bourdieu 1971, 1976, 1977, Apple 1979, Giroux 1988, Gramsci 1971, and Bernstein 1977).

At different points in the project, different bodies of theory took on particular emphasis, while others became less relevant. For instance, in the case studies carried out at Kursal Lane, which examined teachers' attempts in situations of very restricted discourse to match cognitive input and expectation with linguistic input and development, the work of Cummins and Vygotsky was to prove particularly useful,

along with that of Edwards and Mercer, who provided an invaluable model for describing and analysing classroom discourse in similar situations in monolingual classrooms. In the studies at Company Road, by contrast, I was to draw more heavily on theory related to discourse in the more 'generic' sense (Bakhtin and Volosinov) and to cultural reproduction (Bourdieu). In these studies, teachers were shown to allow wider discursive parameters in the purely linguistic sense, but to continue to impose discursive restrictions in terms of cultural preferences. In the concluding study at Company Road, which began to examine ways in which teachers can, practically, combat culturism and ethnocentrism in their own and other people's practice, the work of Apple and Giroux was to take on particular significance.

Partly because of the wide range of referential theory employed and the developmental shift of theoretical emphasis throughout the thesis, I have found it appropriate to include the main body of such theory in with the main body of the accounts of classroom practice, and to avoid a detailed theoretical 'inventory' or literature review at this early point in the report. To reproduce what would, inevitably, be a very lengthy summary at this juncture would, I believe, detract from the chief focus of the report, which is a detailed description and analysis of

classroom practice, and would obscure the relationship between the data gathered and any theory generated by it.

To this general rule there are, however, two exceptions.

First, because it is so central both to the nature and range of the data collected and analysed, the way in which they have been analysed, and any theory generated by those data, I have chosen to include a separate chapter - **Chapter Three** - to a consideration of Symbolic Interaction theory and to related theories of perceptual, cultural, and discourse mismatch theory.

Second, since an understanding and elaboration of certain theory related to bilingualism is essential to an understanding of the project's prime focus, of the initial questions from which it arose, and of the different views and strategies adopted by teachers of bilingual pupils, I have included in **Part Two** a chapter on bilingual theory, with particular reference to Common Underlying Proficiency theory and to Cummins' 'BICS-CALP' hypothesis (Cummins 1979a & 1984). Some shared thoughts on different perceptions of what bilingualism means and of its potential value to the learner should, additionally, provide a helpful theoretical basis for readings of the case studies presented in **Part Three**, as well as providing an insight into the way in which circumstances often encourage teachers to oversimplify or to

'appropriate' educational theories and to incorporate them into existing, sometimes unsatisfactory, practice.

CHAPTER THREE: SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM AND 'MISMATCH' THEORY

3.1 Symbolic Interaction

Finding its philosophical roots in the work of George Herbert Mead (1934) and its sociological perspective in the work of Herbert Blumer (1969), symbolic interaction is a theory of perception and human nature that sees 'reality' not as external to the human consciousness but as a series of social and symbolic constructs whereby meanings evolve for people over a period of time through interactions with other people. The researcher who wants to get at something that might be called 'the truth' of a situation needs, therefore, to discover and examine people's various perceptions of what is happening - ie. their various realities - and, as part of that quest, to build up an independent picture of what is happening as those realities chime or fail to chime with one another.

To use Woods' (1979) account, symbolic interactionism

concentrates on how the social world is constructed by people, how they are continually striving to make sense of the world, and assigning meanings and interpretations to events, and on the symbols used to represent them.

In sociological research in the academic setting, this

puts the emphasis on pupils' and teachers' own subjective constructions of events, rather than on the sociologist's assumptions of them, and elevates the process of meaning-assignment and situation-defining to prime importance.

(Woods 1979, p.2)

Woods goes on to summarise Blumer's three central principles of symbolic interactionism. These are:

1. Humans "act towards things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them". In the social world - as opposed to the 'natural' world, which humans also inhabit - the existence of symbols (for instance, language) enables us "to give meanings to objects". Interactionists "focus on the world of subjective meanings and the symbols by which they are produced and represented". This means "not making any prior assumptions about what is going on in an institution, and taking seriously, indeed giving priority to, inmates' own accounts".

2. "This attribution of meaning to objects through symbols is a continuous process. Action is not simply a consequence of psychological attributes such as

'drives', 'attitudes' or 'personalities', or determined by external social facts such as social structures or roles, but results from a continuous process of meaning attribution which is always emerging in a state of flux and subject to change. The individual constructs, modifies, pieces together, weighs up the pros and cons and bargains."

3. "This process takes place in a social context." Individuals align their actions to those of others by "'taking the role of the other', by making indications to their own 'selves' about the 'other's' likely responses. We construct how others wish or might act in a certain circumstance, and how we ourselves might act. We might try to 'manage' the impressions others have of us, put on a 'performance', try to influence the other's 'definition of the situation'."

(Woods, ibid. For a detailed account of symbolic interactionism and its implications for qualitative sociological research, see also Woods 1992 pp.338-395.)

This emphasis on the individual as a social being, who nevertheless must make individual meanings and who has opportunities for choice, has been contrasted with positivistic representations of social behaviour, which may

reduce individual actors to the status of mere dupes constrained to act in specific ways in response to the various social and economic situations in which they find themselves. (See, for example, Woods' [1977 p.14] comparison of ethnographic principles with Durkheim's assertion that "the determining cause of a social fact should be sought among the social facts preceding it and not among the states of the individual consciousness" [Durkheim 1964, p.110].) Symbolic interaction theory recognises the social forces that shape each individual consciousness and that impact upon it, but does not deny the individuality of perception and analysis. It also recognises that if, for example, a classroom teacher perceives a child to be deficient in some respect, that particular 'reality', which may conflict with the 'realities' of other teachers, will produce a pedagogical approach that in the teacher's view is wholly appropriate. (See, also, the observation of Thomas, 1928 p.572, that if people "define situations as real, they are real in their consequences".)

3.2 Defining the Situation: Interpretative Mismatches

Elaborating the third of Blumer's principles, Woods (1992 p.341) makes use of the term 'defining the situation' to describe how, for "joint activity to ensue" in any situation it is "necessary that the same meaning is attached by the participants in the act to the symbol." (See also Habermas's

theory of "communicative action", including the view that reaching understanding consists of "a process of reaching agreement among seeking and acting subjects", in Habermas 1984 pp.284-7¹.) To clarify this point, Woods relates how meaning is often conveyed in the classroom situation through looks and gestures which must be presented and interpreted for effective communication to ensue, in just the same way that we present and interpret speech. An important component of such communication, Woods argues, is that individuals

have a developed ability to respond to their own gestures. Thus, the teacher knows from his or her past experience that the same consequences ensue as those inferred by the pupil; furthermore, each knows that the other assigns the same meaning to the act.

(Woods 1992, p.342)

This "construction of meaning in interaction", occurs "by means of the ability to take the role of the other, and to interpret from that position. Thus, people imaginatively share each other's responses. This sharing and the mutual imbuing with meaning makes the behaviour truly social, as it would not be if it were mere response" (Woods, *ibid.*). The difficulty occurs when joint activity cannot ensue, because the same meaning is not attached to the "symbol" by "the participants in the act".

Investigating such problems under the heading "Defining the Situation", Woods illustrates how "interaction can be built up through different constructions of reality and conflicting definitions of the situation with the result of conflict. Just as objects can be interpreted differently on different occasions or by different people [...] so situations must be interpreted. This lays the basis for how we perceive and interact with others, and it guides the orientation of our conduct. For smooth interaction to occur, it is necessary that all interpret situations in the same way" (Woods 1992, p. 344).

Woods' notion of shared and unshared interpretations of situations paves the way to potentially useful links between symbolic interaction theory and some of the work carried out on discourse-mismatch theory by researchers such as Walkerdine (1982, pp. 149-154) in the field of psycho-semiotics². Furthermore, it suggests, as we shall see, useful developments in the area of cultural mismatch theory.

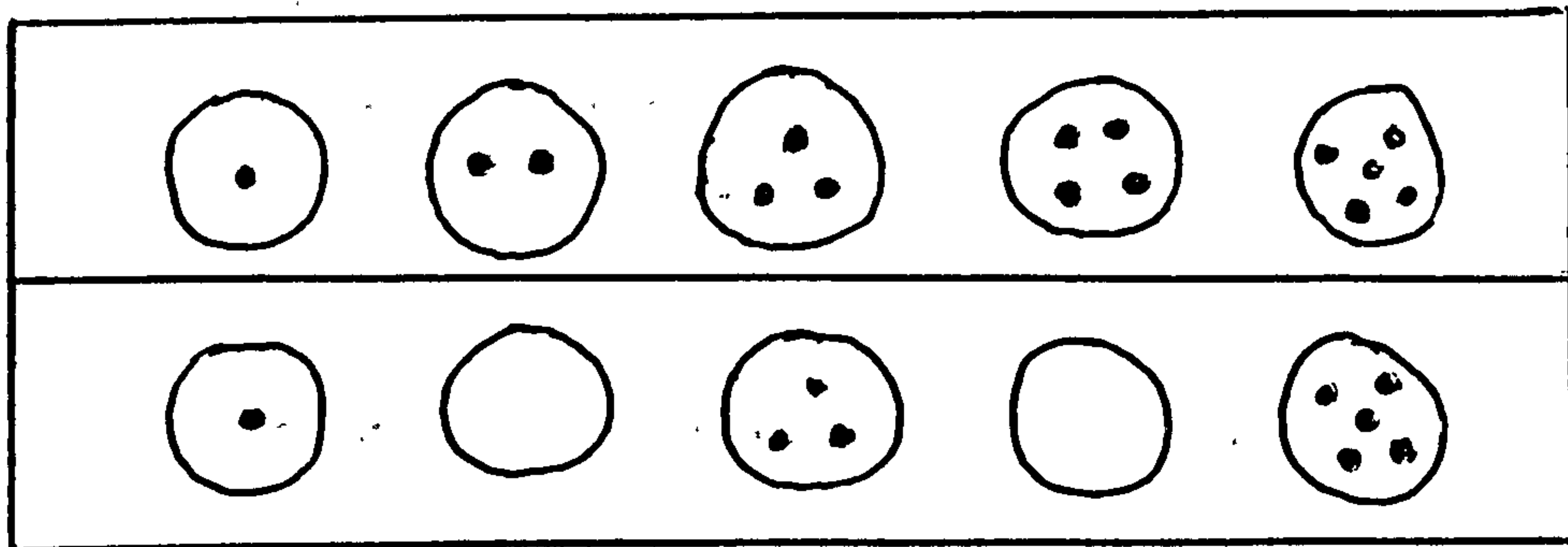
3.3 Discourse-Mismatch Theory

Arguing the hypothesis that young children learn essentially through initiation into a range of discourses and discursive practices - that is to say, through a kind of socialisation rather than as a result of climbing some 'pre-programmed' psychological ladder of development - Walkerdine (1982)

offers examples from the primary-school classroom of situations in which the teacher's interpretation or intention of what discourse is taking place differs crucially from that of the pupils. She shows us how these mismatches in interpretation can result in breakdowns in the learning process.

Walkerdine's central example describes a class of three- to five-year-olds working through a sequence of activities involving counting and number-work through the matching up of circles containing differing numbers of dots. Towards the end of the sequence, the teacher presents the children with a piece of paper on which she has drawn the following:

Figure 4: Missing Numbers Exercise



(Taken from Walkerdine 1982 p.152.)

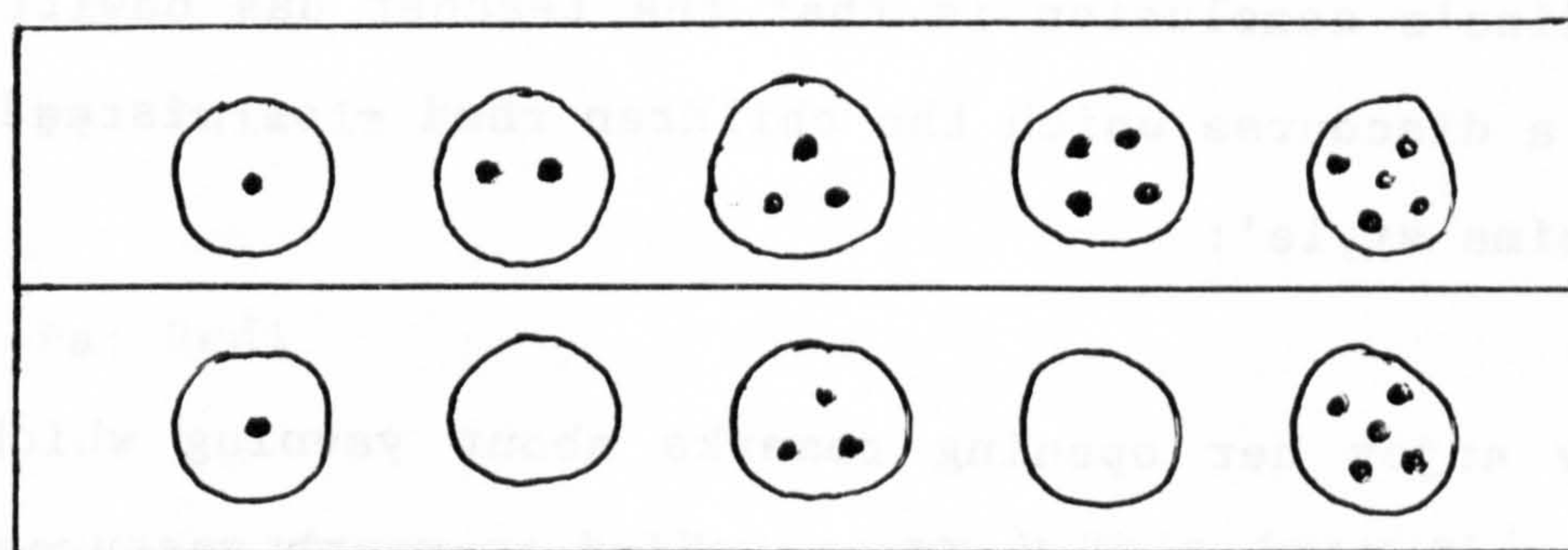
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Figure 4: Missing Numbers Exercise



(Taken from Walkerdine 1982 p.152.)

Walkerdine describes what follows thus:

The sequence of dots goes from one to five, left to right. In the top row all the dots are there, but in the

bottom row some circles contain no dots. The teacher's aim is to get the children to specify the missing dots. This is how she introduces the task:

'Now whoever drew these kept yawning and every time she yawned she missed some out. So, we've got that one... have we got the two?'

Now, the response of the children is to chorus 'No-oo!' in a manner which is best described as pantomime style. The teacher then asks: 'Have we got the three?' to which the children respond in precisely the same manner as in the previous example: 'No-oo!' In this case there are three dots, so why do they make the mistake?

Walkerdine's conclusion is that the teacher has unwittingly set up a discourse which the children read - or misread - as 'pantomime style':

They enjoy her opening remarks about yawning which are accompanied by sound effects, hand-to-mouth gestures etc. and they certainly enjoy chorusing 'No-oo!' The children respond in the negative because they think that this is appropriate to the discourse and simply have not recognised that the task is about counting the dots.

(Walkerdine 1982, p. 152)

In my own research, the question of discourse mismatches was to become increasingly central both in selecting data for analysis and in the analysis itself. At one of the institutions visited - Kursal Lane Language Centre - mismatches of the kind described by Walkerdine were a common feature of classroom interaction, of which the following are examples:

(1) A teacher, working on the names of colours, holds up different coloured strips of paper.

T: This is blue. [Intended Discourse: Statement-Repetition.]

Ps: Blue! [Perceived Discourse: Statement-Repetition.]

T: This is red.

Ps: Red!

T: (Holding up yellow paper.) This is what? [Intended Discourse has changed to Question-Answer.]

Ps: What! [Pupils, familiar with the question-format 'What is this?' but not with 'This is what?', continue to operate within the discourse Statement-Repetition.]

(2) A class of ten 11- 12 year olds has been having a lesson on time-telling, conducted through a series of teacher statements/pupil repetitions and teacher questions/pupil answers. At the end of the lesson, the researcher moves round the class asking each pupil in turn, clearly but quietly so as not to influence other members of the group, "Do you like my watch?" (It is a particularly garish watch with a multicoloured dial.) Without exception each child, still apparently believing her/himself to be operating within the discourse

'Teacher asks What Time? + Pupil Answers (Right/Wrong)'

responds by attempting to read off the time.

There is a sense in which these discourse mismatches, involving older children, are more worrying than those described by Walkerdine³. What I shall argue later, in **Part Two** of the thesis, is that they are at least partly brought about by pupils at the Centre being constrained by their teachers into a very narrow range of discourses. I will suggest that discourses from which these pupils are typically excluded are pupil-pupil and pupil-teacher discourses perceived by their teachers as "conversational" or unimportantly social but in effect essential to the learning process. I will also argue that discourse mismatches of this kind are often, incorrectly,

misinterpreted in turn by the teachers, who may be overly inclined to read them as examples of pupils' cognitive or linguistic deficiencies.

3.4 Cultural Mismatch Theory: Company Road

Reference has already been made (**Chapter One**) to the theory of "cultural mismatch", whereby there may be an unrecognised⁴ conflict between behaviours and styles valued at home and behaviours and styles valued at school⁵. While Walkerdine has described situations in which 'readings of the situation' depend on pupils' learned knowledge and recognition of appropriate discourses, it must also be recognised that discourses themselves are cultural matters (indeed, they may be said to be constitutive of any given culture), and that they may also be culture-specific: that is to say, a situated discourse considered appropriate or 'normal' within one culture may be considered inappropriate or even incorrect in another.

An example of a classroom-situated mismatch which may be described as both discursive and cultural is described in detail in **Part Three** of this thesis. In this instance, a Bangladeshi pupil was asked to write a love story that was as 'true to life' as he could make it. The additional, unspoken criteria by which this story would be judged - as a story⁶ - were that it should have plenty of background

detail, that it should not contain dialogue that slowed down the plot, and that it should not be entirely linear, either in narrative structure (ie. from the point of view of chronology) or in the sequencing of sentences⁷.

The teacher's response to the story, revealed through transcriptions of his discussion with the pupil, was that it was not a good story because it was not true to life, it had little background detail, it contained dialogue which did, in his view, slow down the plot, and its ideas were generally linked together by the simple, linear device of using basic conjunctions. The boy, on the other hand, had appeared happy with his story and specifically denied that it was not 'true to life', as the following extract reveals:

T: (Reading through pupil's second draft) 'After half an hour she said, "I want to say something." I said "What is it?" "How do I tell you? I can't tell you." I said, "Go on, tell me what it is." Then she said, "I love you." Then I said, "I love you too."'

Yes, I'm a little worried about this bit. Would she say 'I love you', just like that? It seems a bit sudden. Would they really say that? Maybe they should say it another time, when they've got to know each other better? What do you think about that?

P: (Shrugs.)

T: [And] all this stuff about relations... 'I said to her "Do you have any brothers?" She said "Yes, I have one brother." I said "How old is he?" She said "He's fifteen or sixteen, I'm not sure." Then I said "Have you got a sister?" She said "No, I haven't." Then she asked me "Do you have any brothers or sisters?"'... This isn't really necessary, is it... For the reader... What do you think? [...] I mean, I think you could really cut a lot of this out, couldn't you. Cut most of this out. [...] Just put here (writing in the margin): 'We talked about our families. She said she had a brother. I told her my brother was married and...' You see, that's the other thing... I don't know... I mean, do people talk that way? In real life? Do they talk about how old their brothers and sisters are?

A: Yes, Sir.

Mr G: Do you think so? I'm not so [sure].

If we begin to analyse this dialogue from the perspective of mismatch theory, we can draw immediate attention to the following:

(a) On one level, there was no discursive, perceptual or situational mismatch between the pupil and his teacher: the teacher had set a task - to write a love story - and the pupil had responded by writing a love story. To use our earlier terminology, they had, at a very basic level, succeeded in achieving a shared definition of the situation.

(b) This manifestly shared understanding of what the general task was may, however, have inclined the teacher to interpret the pupil's response to that understanding as an indication of the pupil's deficiency. In other words, because there was no perceptual mismatch in the broad or general task - to write a love story - the teacher was not inclined to perceive a mismatch when it came to the minutiae of the task - that is to say, the manner in which it was carried out and in the pupil's interpretation - for it clearly was an interpretation - of the phrase 'true to life'. As the teacher went on to say in interview after marking the pupil's work: "I was very clear in the instructions: I did say I wanted it to be true-to-life." In summary, we could say that the teacher believed himself to be inviting one discourse - the romantic short-story he knew from his own culture - while the pupil apparently believed he was inviting another: perhaps the romantic love-story he knew from his culture.

(c) All of this suggests, in turn, an a priori perceptual mismatch between pupil and teacher: a pre-existing, culture-specific difference between not only their notions of what a love story was but their understandings of 'true to life' and 'realistic', brought with them into their readings of the situation. Without a sharing or comparison of these differing notions - perceived not as notions but as truths - neither party will recognise that such difference exists. "Smooth interaction" (Woods 1992 p.344) will consequently not occur, and the teacher will continue to perceive the pupil's 'alternative' interpretation in terms of his failure to carry out an instruction clearly given. (See also Barnes 1972 p.113 on the way in which the teacher may reject "one activity in favour of another" - my emphasis.) This may in turn lead to unhelpful pedagogies in which, as transpired in this case, the teacher merely 'corrects' what is 'wrong' without any reference to the pupil's existing skills and preferences and with no thought that 'right' and 'wrong' may not be absolutes⁸.

We can distinguish in this an essential distinction between cultural difference or 'diversity' - which is something we may wish to encourage and celebrate - and cultural mismatch, which is manifested in the pedagogical context. Cultural mismatch is, as it were,

an accident that has been waiting to happen but that is nonetheless avoidable: it comes about when a cultural difference is misrecognised in the teaching-learning discourse by one or more participants in the discourse - typically, when that which is essentially different is perceived as that which is intrinsically wrong.

The significance of the apparent mismatch between teacher and pupil shown in the above example derives partly from its difference from the example quoted by Walkerdine: in particular, in the fact that although it is revealed through a particular context (the context of a pupil responding to a teacher's instruction) it is by no means context-specific. Rather it is, as I have suggested, culture-specific and therefore a priori.

Walkerdine's pupils are still very young, still at an early stage in their learning about discourses. Drawing on previous in-school and out-school experiences of the world, they make mistakes when they give inappropriate emphasis to a particular aspect of the teacher's input such as the 'pantomime' quality in the teacher's intonation. They are still developing discourse-related recognition and participation skills and, as would be expected in any learning situation (cf. Dulay & Burt 1976), are liable to make occasional misreadings. These misreadings, if viewed as part of an overall learning process, may not, in the long

term, prove damaging and could, indeed, be seen as fairly straightforward aspects of the learning process.

Eleven- and twelve-year-old bilingual pupils, however, are different. In terms of L2 they may be less proficient than three- to five-year-old natives, but in terms of general cognitive and linguistic development, including the ability to recognise and participate in different discourses, they can be expected to be far in advance of such pupils. Furthermore, they will have already learned within a different education system with its own cultural norms and preferences what is the 'correct' input for them to make in a whole range of classroom discourses, as well as how to recognise such discourses for what they are. Their task within the new educational setting in which they find themselves will be not merely to learn to recognise different discourses and to learn what is expected of them in terms of involvement in those discourses: they will also have to understand why it is that discourses they have already come to recognise and take part in are, suddenly, not recognised or are treated as incorrect. The teacher of the bilingual pupil, meanwhile, will need to understand that, as Miller (1983) has put it, 'no English' does not mean 'no language'. The pedagogical task becomes, then, not one of simply initiating pupils into discursive practices which are, from the pupil's point of view, 'new', but of developing knowledge and understandings of the pupil's

existing language skills in order to build upon them and so help to extend the pupil's language repertoire⁹.

At Kursal Lane, the focus of the research project was, as we shall see, on the way in which a language-led curriculum restricted the discourses to which eleven- and twelve-year-old bilingual pupils were given access: restrictions even greater than we might expect to find in the primary-school classroom. At Company Road, where bilingual pupils followed a near-standard secondary-school curriculum, such pupils experienced different discursive restrictions, of the kind described above: that is to say, they were not allowed to express themselves in ways already learned before attending the institution. I shall argue in **Parts Two and Three** that in each case little credit was given by some teachers, either for the pupils' existing cognitive development or for their general linguistic skills, and that this failure to recognise existing skills often resulted in misdiagnoses and unhelpful pedagogies.

3.5 Summary

In this chapter, I have outlined some of the central issues that will be explored in **Parts Two and Three** of the thesis: most notably, the notion of cultural mismatch, in which the teacher misrecognises culture-based difference in a pupil's work for cognitive-academic deficiency; the notion of

repertoire extension, through which the teacher seeks to teach new forms and styles rather than to 'correct' existing ones; and the notion of discourse limitation whereby pupils are denied access to certain ways of talking, reading and writing in the classroom. I have sought to link the notion of 'cultural mismatch' to symbolic interaction theory, including the notion of 'defining situations', and to one strand of existing cultural mismatch theory.

PART 2: CASE STUDIES AT KURSAL LANE LANGUAGE CENTRE:
THE LANGUAGE-LED CURRICULUM

**CHAPTER FOUR: KURSAL LANE LANGUAGE CENTRE: PHILOSOPHY AND
PRIORITIES**

4.1 Introduction

It is my purpose in the following four chapters to develop some of the issues raised in Part One of the thesis, relating to the ways bilingual pupils were taught at Kursal Lane Language Centre and specifically to some of the theory underpinning those ways. In the first of these chapters, I shall focus on issues of policy as they were presented to me via interviews with teachers. In particular, I shall explore the rationale for conducting a curriculum that was essentially language-led - that is to say, in which notions of pupils' L2 language proficiency were allowed to control the complexities of the curriculum's cognitive domain - as a way of preparing the ground for a close examination, in **Chapters Five and Six**, of some of the ways in which this organisational-pedagogical approach impacted upon the bilingual pupils' linguistic and cognitive development.

In those chapters, I shall argue, with particular reference to the work of Edwards and Mercer (1987), that the broad approach adopted by the Centre had the effect of hampering pupils' linguistic and cognitive development, firstly through restricting the discourses to which they had access

and secondly through restricting the roles they were allowed within those discourses. (See also Barnes 1972, p.116.) Finally, in Chapter Seven, I shall examine in some detail the theoretical underpinning of the Kursal Lane teachers' approach, with particular reference to the work of James Cummins with which several teachers at the Centre were familiar.

It is important at this stage to add that pedagogies described in relation to Kursal Lane were by no means confined to that particular institution: much of the work carried out in ESL classes at Company Road, for example, illustrated the same approaches, particularly with reference to lessons being language led.

4.2 A Commonality of Views

Reference has already been made (1.4) to differing opinions as to the potential and actual advantages of bilingualism over monolingualism. At Kursal Lane, teachers were asked at the start of the project and again after six months to describe their own views both on language- and learning-development in general and on bilingualism in particular, with reference to any research or theory with which they were already familiar. In the first instance, these views were sought through informal individual interviews with teachers, arising out of their written responses to four

statements on bilingualism drawn from existing research (see Appendix 2a). On the second occasion, a questionnaire was used (Appendix 2b), followed by further individual interviews in which teachers were asked to develop their answers. In addition, three key members of staff were interviewed in far greater depth. These were the Head of Centre, who was responsible for overall policies related to what and how the pupils learned and for the implementation and monitoring of those policies; one of her teachers, Mr Parsons, who was regarded by other teachers at the Centre as an ESL expert¹; and another teacher, Mrs Singh, who was herself bilingual and whose main teaching-group I observed on a once-weekly basis over the duration of the project.

Through these interviews and questionnaire responses, I was able to establish a clear picture of the individual and collective philosophies underpinning the teaching I saw at the Centre and to begin to look for any differences between what teachers believed they should be doing and what, in practical terms, they felt able to do (see also Keddie 1971)². It needs to be stressed that, unlike the situation at Company Road School where there was a sharp divergence of views on appropriate provision for bilingual pupils, the staff at Kursal Lane were united in their view that the existence of the Centre was justified and that its overall approaches were correct. Those overall approaches included, as we shall see, an effective denial of pupils' L1 use in

the classroom on the basis that, to quote one teacher, such use would "hamper their L2 development", and an emphasis on what the teachers all referred to as "academic language". In interview it transpired, for example, that only one teacher out of fifteen - the Head of Centre - agreed that concept development might be hampered by the sole use of a new language - English - as the medium of instruction, and only that same teacher agreed that it would be a good idea for part of the curriculum to be taught through the pupils' first languages if resources were available. (See Appendix 2 for a breakdown of teachers' views on this and other issues related to bilingualism.)

Specific staff responses to questions about language, learning and pedagogy will be returned to and elaborated in **Chapters Five and Six**. For the present, we need only consider responses related to bilingualism and how teacher perceptions of bilingualism impacted on classroom practice by way of whole-school philosophies and practices.

Before considering the detail of these responses, it is necessary to say a little about the Centre's development since its inception thirteen years previously - a development which itself says much about the Centre's policies and approach.

4.3 Kursal Lane: Rationale and Development - 'Language in Context'

In an interview carried out at the start of the research project, the Head of Kursal Lane described the creation of the Centre, thirteen years previously, in terms of a specific response to specific pupil and teacher needs:

It was the secondary heads that wanted the Centre set up [...]: it was a response to their needs. They knew they were giving these [beginner-bilingual] kids a raw deal: big schools like that weren't set up to cater for this kind of child. It's hard enough when you can speak the language and know the customs; but when you don't, it can destroy you. I've seen it happen. I've watched these kids being destroyed. No one can tell me that's the best for them.

In the first instance, emphasis in the Centre's work had been on what the Head described as

decontextualised language work - which was fine as far as it went but didn't really prepare the pupils for what was going on in mainstream schools in the area of curriculum content. They were often going back into the schools finding that they had missed out on a lot of key areas of

the curriculum, that meant it was hard for them to make sense of what was going on.

In response to this problem, the Head had developed over the years a shift away from "decontextualised language work" to the development of what she called "language-in-context". This shift had involved the gradual employment of secondary-phase subject specialist teachers with "a language background" to supplement and replace "general ESL specialists" with no particular subject specialism, many of whom had entered the Centre from the primary phase. The purpose of the shift was to enable pupils at the Centre, whose ages ranged from 11 to 16, to be taught a modified version of the standard secondary-school curriculum followed by peers of the same age in mainstream schools, so that (Head of Centre) "we were overcoming one of the main objections to off-site language units, that they deprived pupils of their right to equal access to the curriculum" (cf. Levine 1983, and Commission for Racial Equality 1986).

This problem of curriculum access was returned to repeatedly by the Head of Centre in the course of interview. In particular, she frequently expressed concern as to the possibility of "equality of access":

Not that there ever is equality of access in the mainstream situation. You can send a bilingual child to

the same lessons as a monolingual child and they can sit there listening to what to them is complete gibberish. But that isn't equal access. Actually, by covering the essentials of the curriculum here - a modified curriculum, yes - we give them far more equality, because we deliver it at a pace and in a language they can cope with.

The "modified curriculum" offered by the Centre - which needed to be modified because (Head of Centre) pupils did "not have the language immediately to deal with the full complexities of the secondary-school curriculum" - provided not only the context for the development of the pupils' language skills, but also set the 'language curriculum': that is to say, language work focussed on the "academic language - the vocabulary and the structures" the pupils would need in order to follow a standard secondary-school curriculum, rather than on, for example, "discussion and conversational skills or skills related to continuous writing activities such as storytelling".

4.4 Features of the 'Language-in-Context' Model at Kursal Lane

1) The curriculum as 'language led'

I have said that the Centre's curriculum provided the medium or context for language development. At the same time, however, as we shall see in Chapters Five and Six, assessments of pupils' L2 proficiency persuaded teachers at the Centre to simplify curriculum content, aiming it at a level commensurate with those language skills. One of the most graphic illustrations of this is to be found not in a lesson itself, but in a set of lesson plans.

In the Kursal Lane staffroom, a small Record Book was kept, in which teachers noted down whatever they planned to cover with each class in each lesson. Mr Parsons, who was extremely conscientious about keeping these entries up to date, had included the following entries for class 2D in the period 4-1-88 to 2-2-88. The letters M and T refer to Monday and Tuesday, these being the only two days Mr Parsons taught this class. Numbers refer to the location of lessons in a seven-period day.

Figure 5: Extract from Mr Parsons' Lesson Notes

| | | |
|---------|----|---|
| 5-1-88 | T7 | (English) Revision of <u>all</u> initial consonant phonemes taught last term and vocabulary - (m) (k) (t) (s) (b) (l) (n) (w) (r) (g). |
| 11-1-88 | M1 | (Maths) Learning shapes: 'Silent' way - adj + adj + noun. |
| | M3 | (Maths) Drawing and labelling of shapes. |
| 12-1-88 | T6 | (Maths) Continuing from yesterday. Introduce imperatives Fold, Divide, Number. (i) Listen and draw example. (ii) Label (iii) Test on square/circle rectangle. Adj. size + colour + noun. |
| 18-1-88 | M1 | (Music) Clapping to beats in time. |
| 19-1-88 | T6 | (English) Teach and learn initial phonemes (v) (j) (y) (e) (o) (e) (z) and learn spellings for vocabulary. |
| 1-2-88 | M1 | (English) Listing of <u>all</u> spellings covered so far - making their vocabulary list. |
| | M3 | Music- playing instruments in time. |
| 2-2-88 | T6 | (Maths) Orthographic numbers 1-10. |

The expression 'language-led' was never used by teachers at Kursal Lane, but it is my contention that this is an adequate description of the model they supported and worked to, and that Mr Parson's brief notes offer a concise illustration of the language-led curriculum in practice. In Maths, for example, the names of shapes must be learned before any discussion of their properties (interview revealed that such discussion occupied an unspecified place in Mr Parsons' future plans, located at a time when the

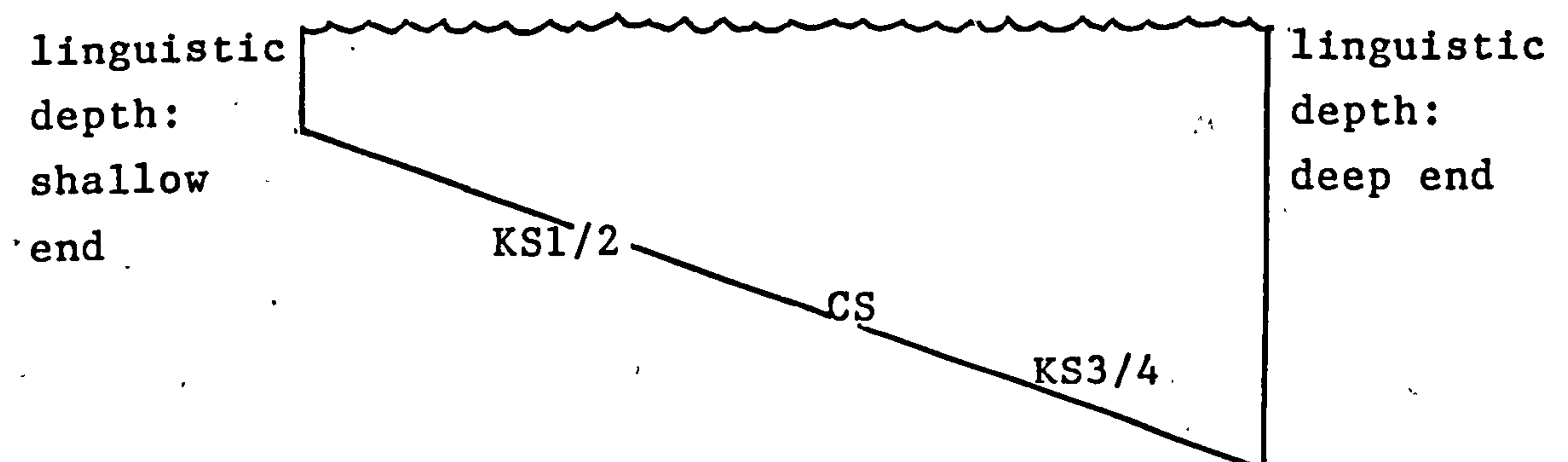
pupils "had the language to talk about the shapes"), while the ability to write, read and spell numbers 'orthographically' ('one', 'two', 'three' and so on) must precede arithmetical work involving the numbers in combinations. Initial work on shapes, meanwhile, is developed only in terms of teaching pupils the linguistic order 'adjective + adjective + noun.' Even in 'English', language - in the sense of vocabulary, spelling and pronunciation - takes precedence over and controls the inputs of language-in-use, so that the repetition of 'phonemes' is not simply prioritised over but actually ousts any of the conceptual- or skills-based elements of the standard secondary-school curriculum such as story-telling or the expression of experience and opinion.

This language-led approach was, essentially, an 'immersion' approach to language development, that provided an interesting contrast with bilingual programmes in some other countries, whereby curriculum content for bilingual pupils can be as complex as for monolingual pupils through the expedient of providing early instruction through the medium of the pupils' strongest language. (For a fuller description of bilingual and immersion programmes, see Cummins 1984 and Cummins & Swain 1986). It was, however, an immersion approach of a very particular kind: that is to say, it did not seek to immerse its pupils in what we might call the deep pool of 'normal' linguistic-cognitive

experience, but, rather, in a far shallower pool, in which both language development and cognitive development were restricted and very carefully controlled in steps or stages by the teachers.

To pursue the 'immersion' metaphor, it was a common complaint of teachers at Kursal Lane that bilingual pupils in mainstream secondary schools were "thrown in at the deep end, to sink or swim". (See, too, the Head of Centre's observation, quoted above, that secondary schools "destroy" bilingual pupils.) To illustrate how this view tied in with and promoted the language-led curriculum offered by the Centre, we could adapt the teachers' complaint to provide the following metaphorical illustrations of the Centre's philosophy and perception.

Figure 6: 'Immersion' in Mainstream Schools: the Swimming-Pool Perception

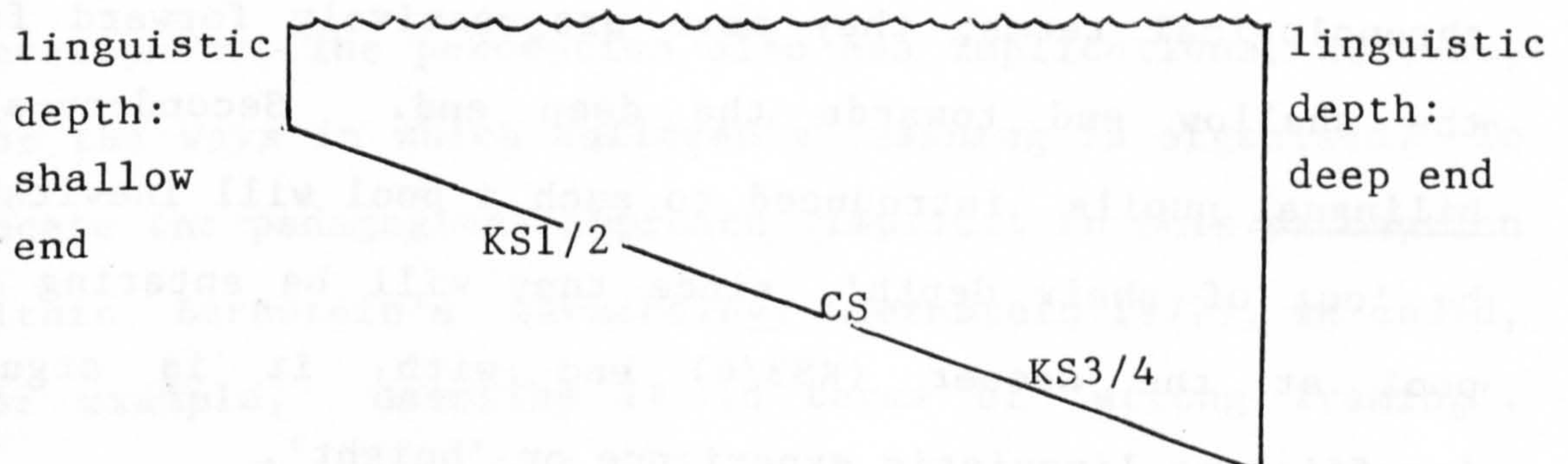


CS = cognitive slope KS = National Curriculum Key Stages

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CS = cognitive slope

KS = National Curriculum Key Stages

In this illustration, I have replaced the notion of two 'pools' (the experience offered by the standard secondary school and the experience offered by the Language Centre) with one, representing Kursal Lane teachers' perceptions of the standard secondary-school experience for recently-arrived bilingual pupils. In this pool, monolingual pupils progress from a 'shallow end' of relatively simple cognitive-linguistic activity towards ever more complex levels, 'growing' in the cognitive-linguistic sense as they do so, so that they are never 'out of their depth'. Linguistic 'depth' increases simultaneously with cognitive progression. At the start of their school careers, pupils are perceived as both linguistically 'short' (ie. they possess relatively little in terms of vocabulary and syntax) and inexperienced (ie. they are poor linguistic 'swimmers' in terms of what they can do with the limited skills they possess). As they grow and develop linguistically, so ever more complex concepts come within their reach: in chronological terms, they move progressively forward from the shallow end towards the deep end. Secondary-aged bilingual pupils introduced to such a pool will inevitably be 'out of their depth', since they will be entering the pool at the deeper (KS3/4) end with, it is argued, insufficient linguistic experience or 'height'.

In opposition to this hypothetical situation, Kursal Lane teachers sought to offer an alternative experience, in which teaching could be said to fill up a pool or series of pools with linguistic 'water' a little at a time. With each increase in linguistic depth, ever more complex concepts would be brought within the linguistic swimmer's grasp, until a stage was reached whereby they could be released safely into the standard (secondary-school) pool. The role of the teacher in this model was carefully to organise and control concept learning according to an incremental notion of language learning. As the language became more complex, at a rate decided and controlled by the teacher, so the cognitive depth (in the metaphor, the depth of 'water' in the 'pool') increased: that is to say, concepts of a corresponding complexity could be introduced.

In terms of the way in which a child's development is conceptualised, such a perception clearly views cognition and language as interrelated but separate strands of development. The perception also has implications, however, for the ways in which children's learning is organised. To locate the pedagogical approach implicit in this perception within Bernstein's terminology (Bernstein 1977), we could, for example, describe it in terms of 'strong framing'. Here, the term 'frame' is used to refer to "the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted

and received in the pedagogical relationship", and 'strong framing' describes classroom relationships in which such control resides exclusively or almost exclusively with the teacher (Bernstein 1977, p.89). Endorsing this approach, the Head of Centre herself described pedagogy at the Centre as "fairly traditional in relation to a lot of what goes on in the mainstream", arguing:

That means very carefully structured lessons, moving gradually from the basics to more complicated work, and it tends to involve a fair amount of whole-class teaching on the part of the teacher. Things like group work (...) are not really practical: not when you might have up to four different languages in the classroom.

The language-led approach to the curriculum was not without its difficulties, and it will be the task of **Chapters Five and Six** to examine precisely what those difficulties were. For now, we need to locate these difficulties between two 'splits' central to the Centre's approach and indeed to the whole notion of language-in-context. The first of these splits is the one already referred to: that is to say, between language and cognition.

2) The Cognitive-Linguistic 'Split'

The Kursal Lane Centre was still, primarily, a language centre - that is, a centre for the development of bilingual pupils' language skills: however, it had also, as we have seen, opted to teach a modified version of the standard secondary-school curriculum and was consequently also concerned with conceptual or cognitive development. The Head of Centre has already been quoted with reference to the simplified nature of these cognitive/conceptual inputs, and we can now posit two reasons for this. First, formal instruction was in the pupils' weaker language (the 'immersion' approach): that is to say, they did not, in this respect, have the language skills required for the elaboration of more complex concepts. Second, the pupils' first languages were also effectively barred from formal pupil-pupil dialogues because, as one teacher, Mrs Singh, put it (repeating the view expressed in interview of all but one of her colleagues): "The pupils come here to learn English. If we allow them to use their mother tongue they won't ever want to learn the English".

This simplification or relegation of cognitive/conceptual inputs was itself symptomatic of a perceived 'language-cognition' split in the overall learning process, best expressed by the Centre's Head of Science who explained "We

give them the academic language first, then worry about the concepts later": that is to say, pupils were presumed able to acquire language first, which they could later use as the basis for learning concepts. (See also Walkerdine's account [1982, p.130] of how Piaget's theories posit a language-cognition split, whereby the "world of objects, the signifieds", are "appropriated" first by the child and only then are they "represented by signifiers", that is to say by language. This is, of course, a reversal of the Kursal Lane model, where, as is indicated in the words of the Head of Science above, primacy was given to language.)

As with many views at the Centre, this one was endorsed and promoted by one very influential teacher, Mr Parsons, lending it a certain authority with the rest of the teaching staff, many of whom complained regularly of being relatively unprepared and unknowledgable in the area of ESL teaching:

It makes sense, doesn't it. If you go into a classroom and the teacher is nattering away teaching something and you don't understand his language, not only aren't you going to learn anything but you're going to come away demoralised and confused. You've got to get the language first: then you can understand what it is the teacher's teaching you.

(Mr Parsons)

This cognition-language split, expressed in Figure 7 below, is at odds with other versions of cognitive-linguistic development, such as that argued by L.S Vygotsky (1962 & 1978), in which language and thought, linguistic and cognitive development, are seen as inseparable from one another (see also the argument under 4.5, below, that text and context are inseparable). In this alternative model, a concept cannot usefully be viewed apart from the language in which it is expressed, since language itself is, simultaneously, both concept and expression of concept. According to this model, when language is separated from cognition - as can happen in certain classroom situations - the result can only be unhelpful to the learner. Typically, such a separation manifests itself in the pupil providing linguistically correct answers or definitions ("a noun is a naming word", "oxygen reacts with hydrogen to produce water" and so on) without having any clear understanding of what the words actually signify (see also Edwards & Mercer 1987, Vygotsky 1962, p.83, and **Chapters Five and Six** of this thesis).

The cognition-language split supported at Kursal Lane is also problematic, however, in terms of the Headteacher's account of the Centre's principle aims. Despite its decision to teach pupils "not just language" but "language in the context of subject areas" (Head of Centre), the main aim of the Centre appeared not to have changed radically

over the years: that is to say, it was still, principally, not to equip pupils with the concepts they would need when they began standard secondary education, but, to use the Head's words, "to give them the academic language they will need when they get there". Teaching language through the medium of content - "contextualising it" - had, arguably, merely been adopted as a more effective means of ensuring 'appropriate' language development: a change of approach applied to an unchanging purpose.

Figure 7: Kursal Lane's Model of Learning: The Language-Cognition 'Split'

| | | | | |
|----------|---|-----------|---|----------|
| LEARNING | = | COGNITION | + | LANGUAGE |
|----------|---|-----------|---|----------|

3) The Social/Academic Language 'Split'

The second perceived 'split' characterising the Kursal Lane model of learning was one within language itself: that is to say, a split between social language and academic language. This split, which will be examined much more closely in Chapter Seven, was announced early on by Mr Parsons, who affirmed very forcibly, with the exhortation to "Write that down!":

It's the academic language these kids need. They'll pick the social up later. If you don't give them the academic language, you're doing them an unforgivable disservice.

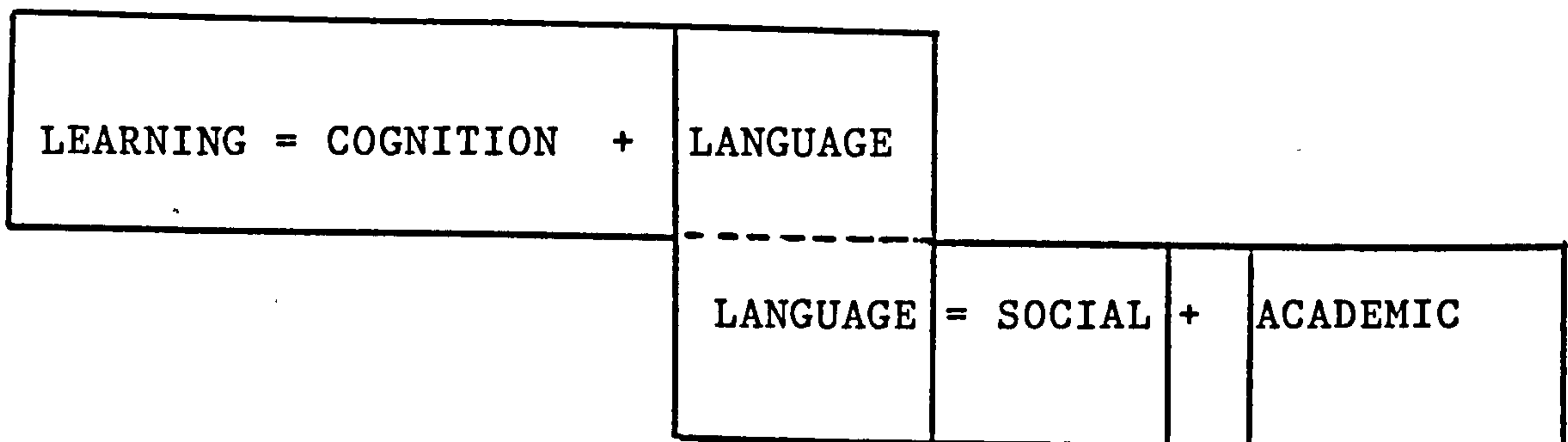
This notion of two types of language, the 'academic' and the 'social', along with the prioritisation of the former, was voiced at greater length by the Head of Centre:

I think it's all a question of prioritising. We are dealing with secondary-age pupils, for whom time is short... if they are to achieve their potential, which is one of the aims we have... And I think that they know, and we know, that their social English will come on in leaps and bounds when they go off into mainstream schools, but that we must help them make that adjustment first so that what they lose in social English is made up for in English that's needed in the curriculum. They catch up very fast. They go [into mainstream schools] with confidence. They go with English to manage, to cope, and they pick up the colloquial English very quickly.

This second split, which needs to be superimposed on to the first (Figure 8), is equally at odds with other models of language and learning development. We might refer again to the Vygotskian model, for example, in which all learning is perceived as essentially social, carried out through the

(social) medium of language (Vygotsky 1962 & 1978). In this model, activities involving, for example, group discussion, dismissed by the Head of Centre as impractical, are, by contrast, given particular value.

Figure 8: Kursal Lane's Model of Learning (Elaborated)



4.5 Oppositional Models of Language-in-Context

The Head of Centre's notion of "language-in-context" is an important one, because (i) it helps illuminate, as we shall see in Chapters Five and Six, some of the Centre's pedagogical practices, (ii) it stands in direct opposition to two other versions of language-in-context that are relevant to the research project and that have gained considerable support in recent years in the secondary-school community (see, for example, Krashen 1982, Levine 1983, Wright 1985).

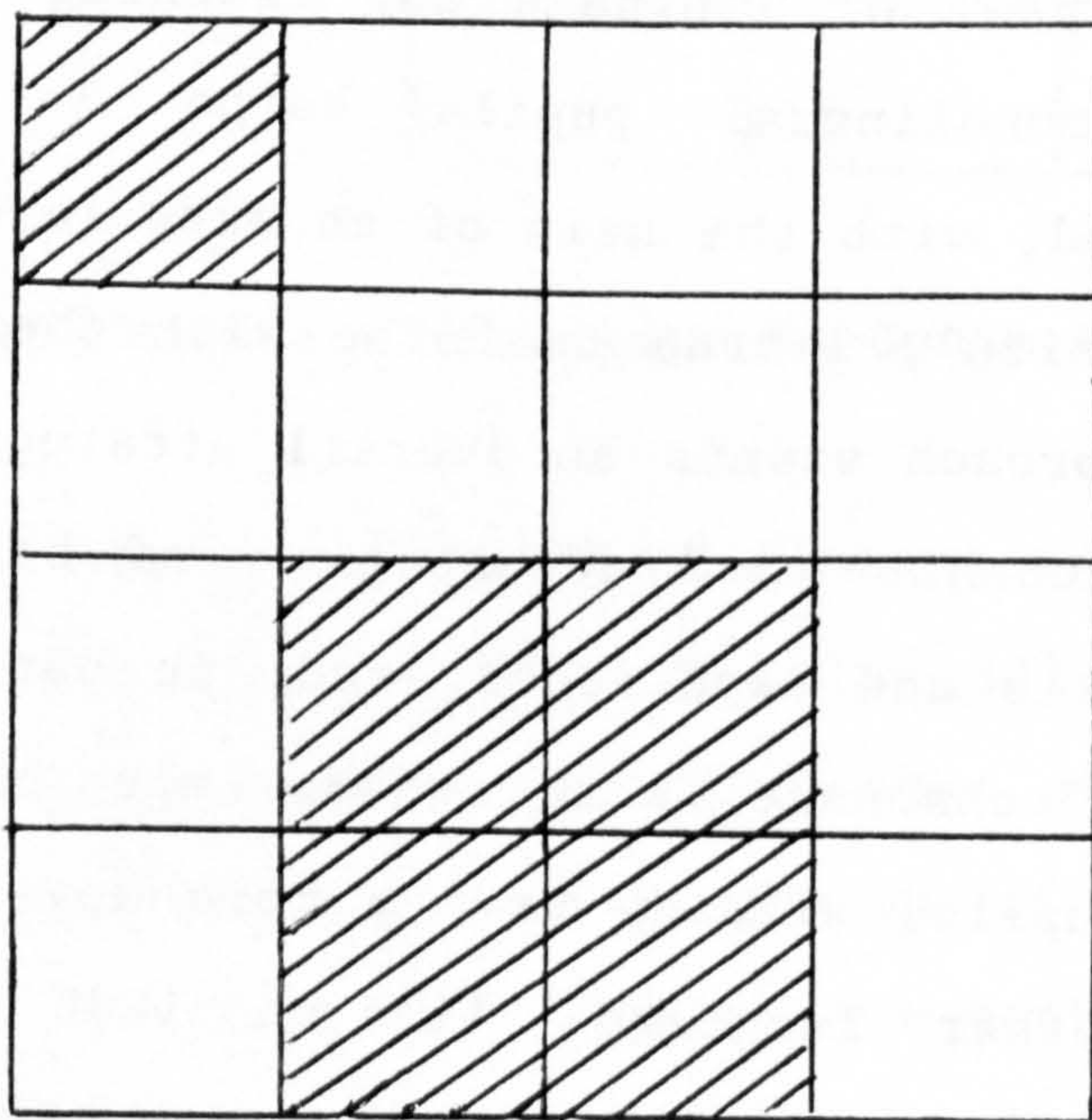
1) The Mainstream Classroom as Context

With reference to on- and off-site language units such as the Kursal Lane Centre, Levine (1983, p.1) has argued against attempting to teach bilingual pupils "linguistic structures in isolation from the natural contexts in which they occur". In her model of language-in-context, the 'context' within which classroom language is best learned is classroom language itself: the bilingual pupil is 'immersed' in the deep pool of language and learning activities in which the monolingual pupils bathe in the 'normal' classroom, and, with the help of an experienced ESL teacher working 'in situ', learns to bathe with them. Hand-in-hand with this approach stands an overall strategy that seeks to take full account - and advantage - of bilingual pupils' existing skills and experience, and, in particular, of the fact that "consonant with their age and experience, [bilingual pupils] already have a more developed use of at least one other language" (Levine 1993 p.191). This existing skill and experience provides, we might say, a 'second context' for the bilingual pupil's cognitive-linguistic development, since "[i]t makes both human and pedagogic sense to use the natural features of pupils' lives to build an educational context out of what they already have access to and out of what they already know and can

do". (Levine 1993, p.192. See also Wiles 1985a p.20 and Wiles 1985b.)

To illustrate this model in practice, by way of assessing its feasibility, let us turn, briefly, to a Mathematics lesson at Company Road School, where I was able to observe pupils of the same ages and socio-linguistic backgrounds as those at Kursal Lane, who had spent the same amount of time in this country.

Figure 9: 'How Many Squares?' Problem



At Company Road, bilingual pupils received most of their education in mainstream classes alongside monolingual peers in unsetting groups. This was the case in Mathematics, where the department followed a 'pupil-oriented' approach structured around the SMILE maths programme³, involving

pupils working through individualised programmes at a speed negotiated with the teacher. In a Year 7 class which I was able to observe over three two-week periods, one eleven-year-old Bangladeshi girl with hardly any English was working at a task in which she had to identify the number of squares in a grid (**Figure 9**, above). One of the purposes of this activity for this pupil, as described by the class's mathematics teacher, was to "get the pupil familiar with the English word 'square' - and other relevant vocabulary - through an activity that's fairly interesting: that she can do, and that isn't going to insult her intelligence".

Sitting down with the pupil at the start of this activity, the teacher explained the task as well as she could:

DIALOGUE 1

T: (Slowly and clearly) This is about squares. Squares (printing the word 'square' for the pupil). Squares... (Draws a series of different-sized squares for the pupil, each time repeating the word 'square', until pupil responds orally.)

P: Squares.

T: Good. That's right. Squares. Squares. (Teacher runs her pencil round a series of squares in the diagram -

one of the smallest, the largest, and one intermediate - each time repeating, with the pupil, 'square'.) Squares. OK. Good. Now... How many squares? How many?

P: (Looks puzzled)

T: (Returning to the three squares she has indicated and holding up fingers each time) One square... Two squares... Three squares... How many? (Exaggeratedly shrugs her shoulders.) How many squares? One?... Two?... Three? (Using fingers to demonstrate, and continuing to shrug after each question.) Four? Five?

P: Pupil smiles.

T: You count them. Write down how many. (To pupil in next seat, who speaks the same first language.) Rafi, you've done this exercise before, haven't you. Will you help her? If she doesn't understand, tell her what she has to do.

In this example, the teacher uses two strategies to help her to help the pupil:

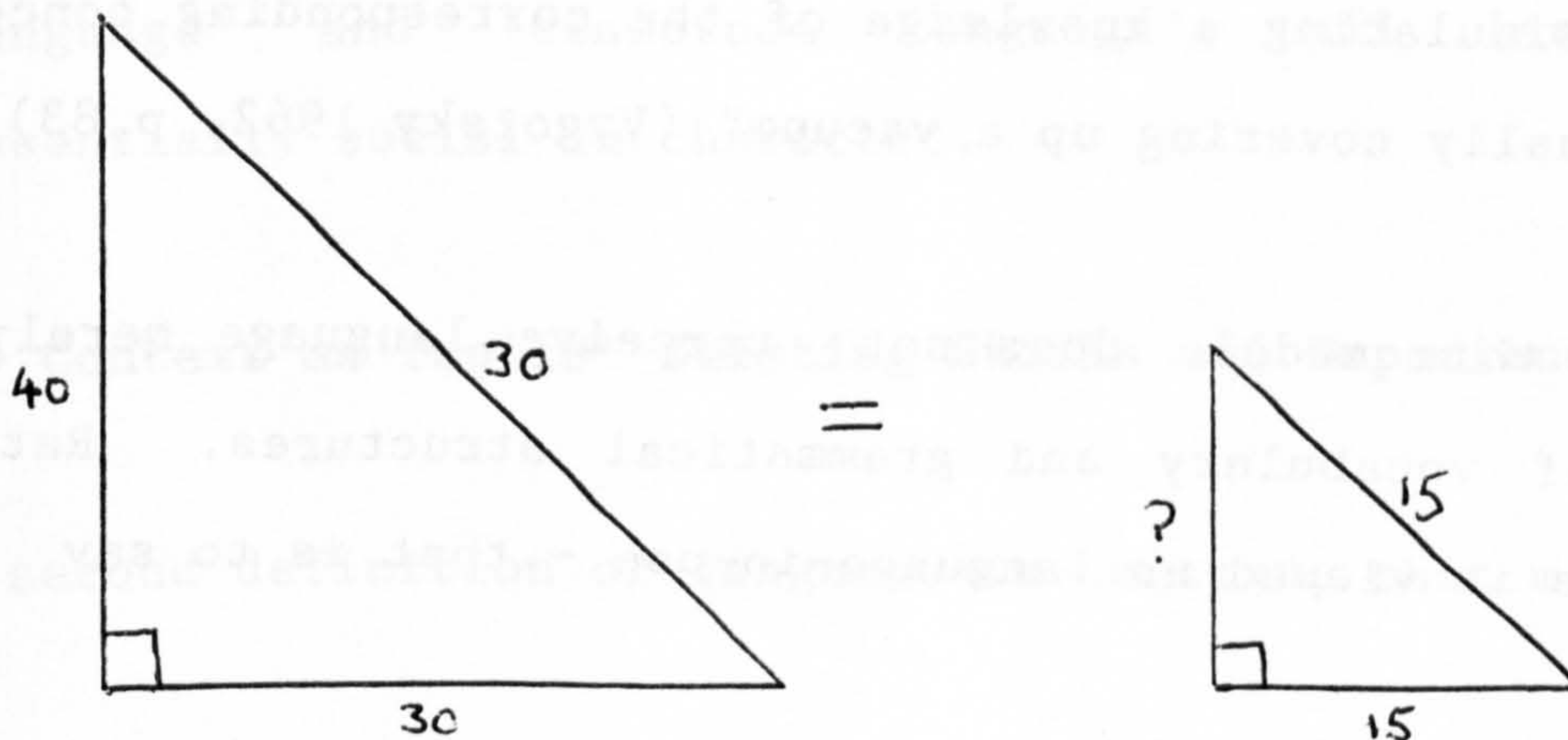
- (1) the use of 'non-linguistic' or visual clues, such as gesture and drawing;

- (2) the use of the pupil's strongest language, through encouraging her to talk in that language to another pupil who is more fluent in English.

That these strategies were successful on this occasion is suggested by the fact that the pupil successfully completed the task, only consulting her classmate when she needed to know what she had to do with her answer ('26'), and how to write that answer down in English numerals.

Happy that the pupil could cope with such an activity, the teacher next gave her a similar task to complete involving triangles, then spent some time with her going through the English numbers 1-100, giving her a list of these numbers and getting the pupil to write down next to each number the version from her own first language. Deciding on the basis of her performance so far that the pupil was able to tackle more complex tasks, the teacher next gave her the following exercise, which she also completed successfully:

Figure 10: Ratio and Proportion Exercise

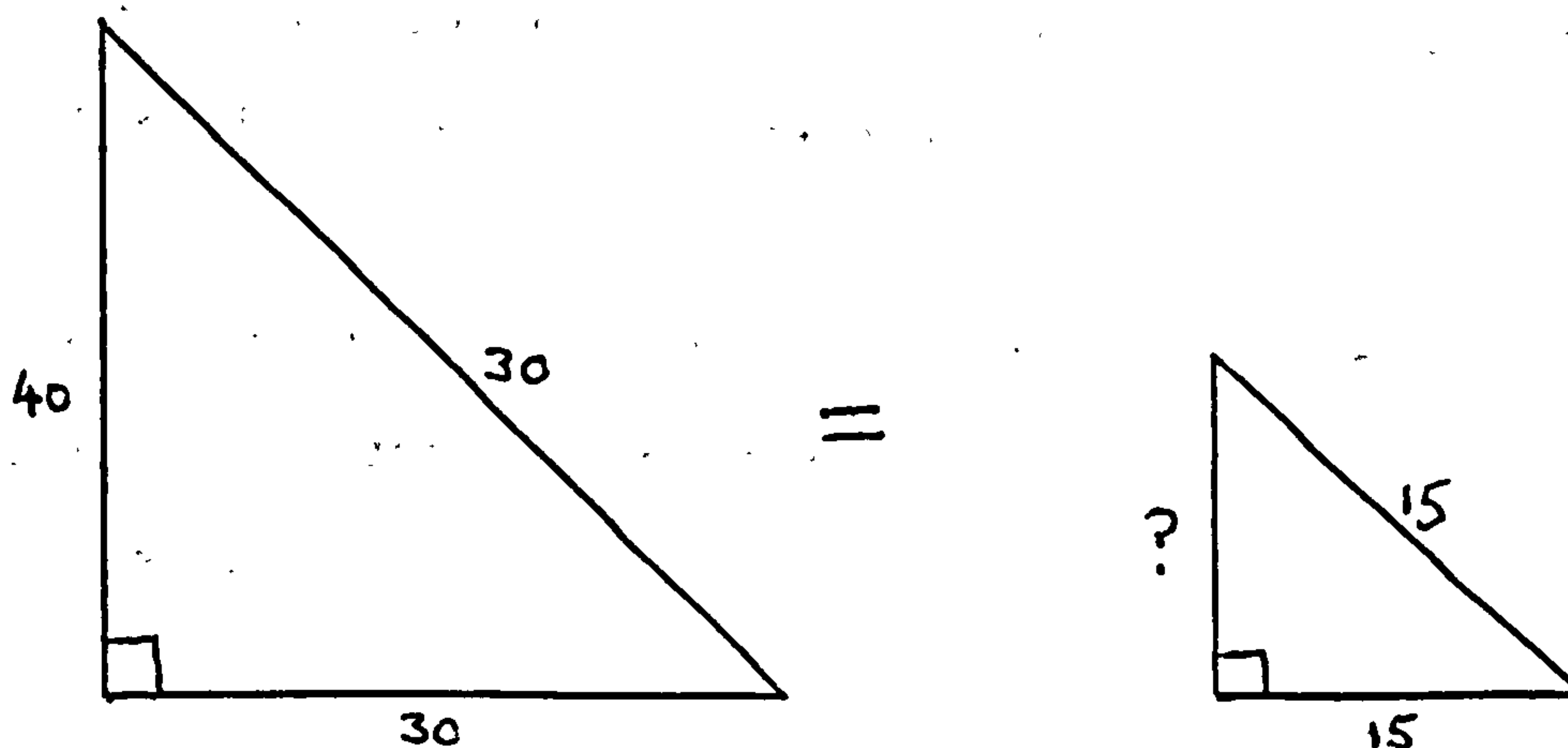


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Figure 10: Ratio and Proportion Exercise



By contrast with the language-led approach, this whole sequence of activities sought to embed L2-development in the completion of practical activities, aimed at a cognitive level appropriate to the pupil's chronological age. In this way, we could say that it was, according to Levine's model, contextualised within the normal flow of classroom interaction.

Levine's model of language-in-context finds strong support in the writing and research of L.S.Vygotsky, whose work has already been referred to (Vygotsky 1962 & 1978). First, it does not attempt to separate out language and cognition as separate entities, but rather, in the Vygotskian manner, views "word meanings" as the elemental illustration of how, from a very early stage in the child's life, thought and language operate inseparably together (Vygotsky 1962, p.3): teaching pupils to recognise and reproduce vocabulary separate from a true understanding of that vocabulary can be achieved, but it is a hollow, pointless achievement, accomplishing nothing but - to use Vygotsky's expression - "empty verbalism, a parrotlike repetition of words by the child, simulating a knowledge of the corresponding concepts but actually covering up a vacuum" (Vygotsky 1962, p.83).

Second, this model does not perceive language merely in terms of vocabulary and grammatical structures. Rather, language is viewed as language-in-use - that is to say (cf.

Bakhtin 1986) - as the making of individual and collective utterances within particular discourses. In this view of language, text (what is said or written) is inseparable from context (the 'situation' in which it is said or written), and language and learning are approached as social phenomena in whatever context they are located. It is insufficient, in this model, for the bilingual pupil to be able to recognise and re-iterate appropriate words and grammatical structures: they must also be aware of language in the broader sense of the complexities and protocols of intersubjective exchanges within the 'normal' classroom setting, both between pupil and teacher and between pupil and pupil. According to this view, to remove pupils from the mainstream classroom for language work is, by definition, to de-contextualise it, regardless of what other contextual framework may be provided. The context for learning 'normal' classroom language can only be normal classroom language itself, as experienced in the 'normal' classroom. Separating out social from academic language is a particular folly according to this model, since, although there may be differences between, for example, 'playground language' and 'classroom language', all language is essentially social in character.

2) Context as Pupils' Existing Skills and Experience

A second definition of language-in-context, that may be read

as an elaboration and development of Levine's 'second context', is provided by James Cummins (1984), some aspects of whose work we shall examine in detail in Chapter Seven.

With reference to bilingual children in the early stages of developing L2 competence, Cummins (1984) argues:

the more initial reading and writing instruction can be embedded in a meaningful communicative context (ie. related to the child's previous experience), the more successful it is likely to be. The same principle holds for L2 instruction. The more context-embedded the initial L2 input, the more comprehensible it is likely to be, and, paradoxically, the more successful in ultimately developing L2 skills in context-reduced situations. A central reason why minority students have often failed to develop high levels of L2 academic skills is because their initial instruction has emphasized context-reduced communication insofar as instruction has been through English and unrelated to their prior out-of-school experience.

(Cummins 1984, p.141)

Cummins' definition of language-in-context is not, as has already been indicated, incompatible with Levine's (indeed, both are illustrated and supported in the example

given above of a Mathematics lesson at Company Road) - the one arguing the importance of bilingual pupils' experiencing 'natural' classroom language alongside monolingual peers, the other arguing the need for some instruction in and through the bilingual pupil's strongest language: however, Cummins' definition is, like Levine's, clearly odds with the Kursal Lane definition as expressed in interview by the Head and her staff.

The key to this opposition is to be found in Cummins' assertion that bilingual pupils' "academic skills" have often suffered because their initial instruction has been "in English and unrelated to their prior out-of-school experience". This is plainly an argument for pupils experiencing the school curriculum, at an early stage in their developing bilingualism, at least partly through the medium of their initially strongest language. It is also an argument for such pupils' being encouraged to develop linguistic skills in that strongest language rather than being immersed too hastily in the language of instruction: for, as Cummins has argued elsewhere,

for children whose L1 skills are less well developed in certain respects, intensive exposure to L2 in the initial grades is likely to impede the continued development of

L1. This will, in turn, exert a limiting effect on the development of L2.

(Cummins 1979[a] p. 233. See also Perozzi et al, 1992, who, with reference to the learning of L2 grammatical features, argue the benefits of initial instruction in this area through pupils' L1.)

In Cummins' model, the context both for bilingual pupils' cognitive development and for their second language development lies in what they already know and can do: in their prior experience and knowledge both of language and of the world. At Kursal Lane, no such context was applied, since, as has already been indicated, the pupils' first languages were effectively barred from the classroom. This was not a matter of formal, written policy, but it was certainly the common-sense view of all but one member of staff⁴, as expressed both in interview and in questionnaire responses.

3) Rejection of the 'Swimming-Pool' Model: 'Everyday' and 'Scientific' Concepts

It will be evident that in both Levine's and Cummins' models of language-in-context, the swimming-pool perception of cognitive-linguistic development described above is inappropriate: indeed, it must be viewed from their

perspectives as a false perception. It is inappropriate precisely because these other models of language-in-context do not propose a separation either between cognition and language or between bilingual pupils' first and second languages. (The Kursal Lane 'pool' is constructed using L2 only, while its use is restricted to L1-L2 learners. Not only is its 'water' an inappropriate medium in the Levine-Cummins models: its very foundations are chimerical).

If, on the other hand, one accepts the swimming-pool model's logic, then the pedagogical philosophy adopted in its pursuit may seem not unreasonable, ie:

'since language and learning are separate strands of development and since you cannot learn without the facility of language, primacy must be given to language of a kind that will subsequently assist that learning.'

One of the teacher's central jobs then becomes a matter of defining the essential differences between the language needed for formal learning and 'other kinds of language'. If the pedagogical approach of Kursal Lane is rejected in the Levine-Cummins models, it is because the logic upon which it is structured is rejected: that is to say, the bilingual pupil's situation is read differently in these other models.

There is, however, another very important question that needs to be brought to the Kursal Lane model of language-in-context, and that concerns what we actually mean by the term 'concept'. In his own writing on this subject, Vygotsky is very clear about the distinction between what he calls 'everyday' concepts and 'scientific' concepts (Vygotsky 1962, p.84). 'Everyday' concepts are those acquired as it were 'spontaneously', during the natural course of a child's life: concepts such as 'house', 'tree', 'parent', 'square' and so forth. Scientific concepts, by contrast, are of a higher order, a greater degree of complexity, characterised by the fact that they have to be deliberately taught and learned⁵.

When teachers at Kursal Lane talked of 'concept development', there was plainly an implicit recognition of these different conceptual categories. When, for example, the Head of Science talked of teaching pupils the language first and the concepts later, the concepts he referred to were clearly the higher level or 'scientific' concepts described by Vygotsky. That is to say, he was not suggesting that a word such as 'liquid' could be taught in isolation from any meaning it might have, but rather that the 'everyday' concept of liquid - the word including a certain basic level of meaning which might or might not already be possessed by the pupils in their own first language - should be taught first, in order that more

complex concepts embedded in the word 'liquid' might be developed subsequently. To summarise this approach in relation to Mr Parsons' planned lessons on squares: the teacher first grafts on signifiers (the words 'square', 'triangle' etc.) to everyday concepts - or, where, necessary, teaches those everyday concepts simultaneously with teaching the signifiers - and then, at some future date, makes use of these everyday concepts, possessed now in the pupil's second language, to develop 'higher order' concepts including a more complex kind of language (one interpretation, in short, of Cummins' BICS-CALP hypothesis, examined in Chapter Seven below).

The difficulty with such an approach occurs, as we shall see, in ignoring not just the existing concepts of pupils, but the levels of complexity of those concepts. This is an occurrence which becomes inevitable once first languages are banished from the classroom and once, at the same time, cognitive 'levels' are set according to second-language (as opposed to general linguistic) proficiency. The contrast between Mr Parsons' planned lessons on squares and those witnessed at Company Road can again be referred to as an illustration of the 'swimming-pool' model and one of its alternatives. At Company Road, bilingual pupils were encouraged to use existing everyday and scientific concepts as the basis for exploring more complex conceptual domains, while simultaneously developing the L2 signifiers they would

need to make use of, elaborate, and show possession of within the English school system. It could be argued that this was a more 'organic' approach to the bilingual pupil's needs, that simply defied representation in a linear, neatly progressive way⁶.

4.6 Summary

In this chapter I have described how stated policy at the Kursal Lane Language Centre was to provide bilingual learners with limited access to the mainstream secondary-school curriculum while at the same time developing their second-language skills: a model of 'language-in-context', to use the Head's own words, in which the context was, effectively, the curriculum content. I have suggested that this policy resulted in a language-led curriculum, in which assessments of the pupils' second-language development would dictate and restrict curriculum access, often deliberately seeking to pitch it at low cognitive levels in relation to the pupils' chronological ages.

I have argued that a particular aspect of this policy - that only English should be used in the classroom - served to emphasise a cognition-language 'split' in the Centre's pedagogy. In addition to this cognition-language split, I have identified a further split in the teachers' views on language development, between language which is essentially

'academic' and language which is essentially social. I have indicated that such a dichotomy sat comfortably with teacher-dominant pedagogies favoured at the Centre, which rejected one of the more manifest social aspects of learning, that is to say, oral interaction between pupils. (See also, by way of both comparison and contrast, Ferguson, 1972 p.38, on the notion of 'diglossia' in relation to monolingual pupils, in which "two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions". In contrast to the overriding philosophy at Kursal Lane, Ferguson's account tends to support linguistic pluralism rather than seeking to banish certain linguistic forms to out-of-school activities. See too, however, Devonish's concern, 1986 pp.1-2, that diglossia can be used as a controlling device through valuing certain linguistic 'situations' above others.)

In opposition to this model of language and learning, I have presented alternative versions of language-in-context, showing how cognition-language and social language-academic language splits can be avoided in mainstream classrooms. This avoidance entails the development of specific teaching strategies, such as allowing the use of first languages in the early stages of second-language development, and pitching activities at cognitive levels more commensurate with the pupils' chronological ages. These models, I have argued, involve an alternative understanding of the nature

and development of concepts to that which was apparent in the Kursal Lane philosophy - an understanding which effectively rules out any useful division between the possession of concepts and their expression (see also Vygotsky 1962, chapters 4-7).

In the following two chapters, I shall examine in detail extracts from some of the lessons observed at Kursal Lane, as a way of exploring how the Centre's espoused philosophy of 'language-in-context' worked in practice, and in order to examine in greater depth some of the objections I have raised as to the practicality of the model. This will include a consideration of the extent to which practices at Kursal Lane were different from those that might have been found at an alternative, essentially monolingual institution.

Following these two chapters, I shall return, in **Chapter Seven**, to more theoretical issues, exploring in greater depth some of the views upon which the Centre's teaching philosophies were based.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCOURSE AT KURSAL LANE: TEACHER STRATEGIES

5.1 Introduction: Restricting Discourses in Monolingual and Bilingual Classrooms

Edwards and Mercer (1987) have examined in some detail how, in a monolingual classroom characterised by "relatively 'progressive' sorts of teaching", teachers may have to deal with tensions that exist between the need to cover the requirements of an already fixed curriculum - that is to say, "inducting children into an established, ready-made culture" - while at the same time creating a sense in their pupils of discovery, invention and 'ownership': that is, developing their pupils as "autonomous participants in a culture which is not ready-made but continually in the making" (Edwards and Mercer 1987, pp.2 & 163)¹.

These tensions may lead to teachers who espouse - and overtly practise - one educational philosophy simultaneously perpetuating and covertly practising another. In such situations, which often reflect the dichotomy between 'progressive' and 'traditional' pedagogical styles²,

the teacher's role as authoritative bearer of the ready-made knowledge simply finds alternative, more subtle means of realising itself than the crudities of brute 'transmission'. (ibid. p. 163)

These "more subtle" means typically present themselves by way of concealment or disguise: that is to say, while teachers may, for example, claim to themselves, to their pupils and even to their colleagues to value what children bring with them into the classroom, to allow pupils to take a large measure of responsibility for their own learning, and to encourage investigation and debate, they may covertly be doing quite the reverse³.

Such pedagogical 'sleight of hand' is carried out through the teacher's initiation, manipulation, prohibition and curtailment of classroom discourses: that is to say, through limiting and strictly controlling such discourses. Describing in some detail a lesson on pendulums, Edwards and Mercer uncover one teacher's disguised pedagogy through the elaboration of a range of discursive strategies and positions adopted by the teacher. In a useful taxonomy, these strategies are defined as, principally, 'marking knowledge as significant and joint', 'cued elicitation', and the use of 'reconstruction, presupposition and paraphrase' (ibid. pp. 134-155).

My reasons for referring to Edwards' & Mercer's work, further details of which will follow, are threefold:

1. It has relevance to a certain mismatch at Kursal Lane Language Centre between teachers' practice and their

espoused philosophies. This mismatch will be returned to in Chapter Six.

2. It contextualises some of the observations I shall be making about classroom interactions at Kursal Lane, indicating that many of the practices there were not uncommon in classrooms generally. At the same time, it posits our observations firmly within the domain of discourse analysis.
3. Identifying certain teacher strategies - and the negative outcomes that may result from those strategies - in the monolingual classroom helps us, by a process of elimination, to identify other strategies (and their negative outcomes) that may be exclusive to the 'bilingual' classrooms under study, or to identify variations or applications of the strategies that may be peculiar to such classrooms. It will not, therefore, be my intention in this and the following chapter to focus exclusively on the same strategies as those outlined by Edwards and Mercer, but rather to look for significant variations of those strategies as well as strategies that might be different from those they describe. This should offer some further indication as to how the Kursal Lane classroom differed from the mainstream classroom, and in particular how the language-led curriculum impacted upon pupils' cognitive and linguistic

development. The major differences I shall emphasise relate to the nature and extent of discourse limitation observed at Kursal Lane. This will involve a consideration of Edwards' and Mercer's notion of 'principled' and 'ritual' knowledge, and a suggestion that at Kursal Lane, with its emphasis on 'appropriate' academic language, the ritualistic nature of classroom activities was both more pervasive and narrower in its scope than we might expect to find in an essentially monolingual classroom.

5.2 'Principled' and 'Ritual' Knowledge

'Principled' and 'ritual' knowledge are the terms used by Edwards and Mercer (ibid.) to describe two distinct kinds of understanding and expression. 'Ritual' knowledge describes a pupil's knowledge of classroom procedure, including a practical understanding of classroom ritual. It includes the notion that if pupils can give 'right answers' on cue (spoken or written), accurately read the teacher's intentions, do the exact things the teacher wants them to do and so forth, they can, to an extent, be perceived as successful pupils even though they may not have grasped certain fundamental concepts which they can develop independently of the classroom situation. 'Principled' knowledge, by contrast, implies that the pupil has grasped a fundamental concept and that their cognitive development has

moved on in some way (as opposed to their procedural or ritualistic development). For principled knowledge to occur, Edwards and Mercer argue, certain other conditions must apply: for example, pupils must be allowed genuinely to experiment, to explore and to debate - with the teacher, with one another and on their own.

As I have already indicated, one of Edwards' and Mercer's central arguments is that teachers may overtly adopt - and believe themselves that they are practising - a policy aimed at developing principled knowledge, while at the same time actually pursuing strategies that promote ritual knowledge. Some of these strategies I have already referred to, and it will be useful now, from the point of view of the Kursal Lane case studies that follow, to describe some of these in a little more detail.

1) Marking knowledge as significant and joint

'Marking knowledge as significant and joint' (Edwards & Mercer, *ibid.*) describes the various processes by which teachers manage to control the curricular content of a lesson while at the same time creating the illusion that their pupils are 'discovering' it for themselves. Essentially, this involves the teacher's using a series of signifying devices that validate certain items or areas of knowledge and understanding above others and

that simultaneously imply that such items are already in the 'joint ownership' of the class. This includes the validation of specific manifestations of such knowledge and understanding, such as individual pupils' volunteered answers and observations.

In Edwards' and Mercer's account, this effect is achieved through a variety of sub-strategies such as the invention and repetition of formulaic phrases - that is, "memorable formulae" which children may repeat parrot-like, on cue, to express a "shared understanding" of a 'key concept' - or the conducting of "speech in unison", whereby the whole class re-iterates a phrase or formula together. (A formulaic phrase picked out by Edwards & Mercer from their observations of pupils working with pendulums is "the shorter the string, the faster the swing", the repetition of which phrase may be said to substitute for an understanding of what is actually happening and may even be invoked to contradict the evidence of the pupils' own experience.)

The use of formulaic phrases and speech in unison are related by Edwards and Mercer to a particular pedagogic device of "validation", in which the teacher, either through word ('That's right') or through gesture (writing up one pupil's contribution on the board in preference to another's) suggests the acceptability of

one answer over others, even though alternative contributions may be allowed to be aired.

(Edwards & Mercer 1987, pp.134-42)

2) Cued Elicitation

A particular sub-strategy for marking knowledge as significant and joint relates to the way in which the teacher may invite and control pupils' oral contributions in whole-class dialogues. Essentially, 'cued elicitations' are discourses of the 'IRF' variety described by Sinclair & Coulthard (1975)⁴, in which the pattern is: 'Teacher initiates, pupil responds, teacher provides feedback'. In this particular variation, "the teacher asks questions while simultaneously providing heavy clues to the information required". Such clues may be provided through the teacher's choice of wording, intonation, pausing, gesture and so on (Edwards & Mercer 1987, pp. 142-46). An example of such a discourse drawn from my own observations at Kursal Lane, in which the teacher 'pretends' to get pupils to contribute an answer, while making it quite clear that there is only one 'right' answer, is as follows:

Mrs S: (Holding up a piece of card) This is a square.
What colour is it? It's.... (Pointing to the

word 'green' from a list of colours on the board).

Pupils: (In unison) Green!

Mrs S: Good! That's right. Now then... (Holding up another piece of card, which is blue). Here is another square. Is it green (shaking her head slightly)?

Pupils: (In unison) No!

3) The use of reconstruction, presupposition and paraphrase

These are strategies whereby the teacher paraphrases what pupils have said, reconstructs what took place in the lesson "when recapping later", and, through "presupposing certain things as known or understood", is able to "forestall disagreement, and shape the direction of the discourse and the interpretation put upon experience" (Edwards & Mercer, *ibid.*, p.146).

To illustrate how presupposition works in practice, Edwards and Mercer quote two teacher-questions to two different groups of pupils: 1) "What are you finding? Any results at all?" 2) "Now is it the shorter string which is going faster or the longer?" The first

question, argue Edwards and Mercer, is open-ended, allowing for the possibility of the pupils' discovering nothing whatever in their experiment. The second, however, presupposes that something very specific will be happening - that one pendulum will be swinging faster than another, for example, and that this will be related to the length of string - and posits the question on the basis of that presupposition.

(Edwards & Mercer 1987, pp. 146-55)

These teacher strategies, Edwards and Mercer argue, enable the teacher to adhere, without deflection, to a pre-planned course of action, covering an externally-designed syllabus while still making it appear that the pupils are 'discovering' the syllabus for themselves and working at their own pace and direction. 'Classroom discipline', necessary for the pre-planned programme to be completed in the allocated time, is also achieved in this way, through the very shape and nature of teacher-controlled discourses and organisation. Thus, when the teacher introduces the notion of 'turn-taking' in relation to different groups of pupils being given tasks with different apparatus and feeding back their results to the class as a whole, this may appear to have its basis in some scientific or pedagogical principle but is in reality "oriented to the organisation of the lesson in terms of its physical props [eg. the

pendulums] and behavioural activity" (Edwards & Mercer 1987, p.117).

There is, of course, a price to be paid for this illusion, and it is the pupils who must pay it. In their account of the operations of cued elicitation, Edwards and Mercer argue:

The best interpretation that we can make of the pedagogic function of cued elicitation is that it embodies an actual educational process in which the pupils are neither being drawn out of themselves, in the e-ducare sense, nor simply being taught directly in the 'transmission' sense. Rather, they are being inculcated into what becomes for them a shared discourse with the teacher (discourse in the broadest sense, including concepts and terminology as well as dialogue).⁵

(Edwards & Mercer 1987, p. 143. See also Walkerdine 1982.)

This 'inculcation into a shared discourse' involves pupils in what Edwards and Mercer call "ritual knowledge", which amounts, in effect, to a knowledge of "how to please the teacher" by providing right answers and so receiving reward: we could say, knowledge of classroom rituals and how to succeed in them (ibid., p.97). This "ritual" knowledge,

which results in "empty verbalism" (Vygotsky, 1962, p.83), is contrasted with "principled knowledge", which entails true concept development in the sense of pupils finding things out for themselves so that they have a meaning which is carried away beyond the confines of the classroom situation. The argument is that teachers may claim to pursue principled learning while actually encouraging ritual learning.

5.3 Ritual Knowledge at Kursal Lane: The Primacy of Procedure

How do Edwards' and Mercer's descriptions of teaching strategies in the monolingual school relate to classroom practice at the Kursal Lane Language Centre? And what does such a relation reveal about the precise nature of teaching-learning experiences at that institution?

These questions are central to the analyses of classroom discourse that occupy the remainder of this chapter and the whole of the next. In this current chapter, I shall concentrate on situations similar to but at the same time significantly different from those described by Edwards and Mercer, focussing on the nature of the strategies used by teachers. This is intended to prepare the ground for an analysis in the following chapter of strategies which are, I believe, radically different from those described by Edwards

and Mercer. In that chapter, I shall focus more on the effects of these strategies, in terms of certain confusions apparent in pupils' oral and written responses. My intention in these chapters is to highlight some of the actual and potential difficulties of the model of 'language in context' adopted by the Centre, and in particular of the divisions in that model between language and cognition and between two kinds of language and language-use. For particular study, I have chosen to look at three lessons taught by two teachers already identified as being particularly significant members of the Centre's staff: Mr Parsons and Mrs Singh. One of the lessons - an extended Science lesson - was with a vertically-grouped class taken by Mr Parsons. The other two - a Science and a Mathematics class - were with a group of eleven- and twelve-year-olds, designated complete beginners, taken by Mrs Singh.

An example has already been given of the way one teacher at Kursal Lane, Mr Parsons, planned his teaching according to a very rigorous model of language-readiness (Figure 5, Chapter 4). In this example, attention was drawn to the teacher's planned Mathematics lessons, in which geometrical shapes would be used to promote language work (eg. the correct sequencing of related adjectives) rather than examined in themselves for their conceptual and interrelational aspects. What I shall argue now is that Mr Parsons did not merely prioritise language over cognition (a point we shall return

to later), but at an even more basic level prioritised what we might call 'procedure' over both cognition and language. In this respect, we might say that Mr Parsons started out with a very different set of intentions from those of the teachers described by Edwards and Mercer, regardless of any similarities or differences there may have been in terms of teaching strategies.

To illustrate what I mean by the 'primacy of procedure', let us consider part of a Science lesson given by Mr Parsons to class 1/2D. This class was considered a "problem class" at the Centre, and unlike other groups, which were organised according to the twin criteria of age and L2 proficiency, had been assembled according to notions of L2 proficiency and cognitive development. It comprised pupils aged between eleven and seventeen.

The Science lesson in question fell into five broad sections:

- (1) Mr Parsons reminded his pupils of the previous lesson, when several pupils had been absent. During this lesson, some reactivity experiments had been completed, with various substances having drops of water and acid added

to them by the teacher, and tables of results had been drawn.

Time taken: 7 mins. 5 secs.

- (2) Mr Parsons showed his pupils how to draw a "proper" table of results, using a large piece of paper.

Time taken: 13 mins. 40 secs.

- (3) The pupils drew or re-drew their own tables in their exercise books.

Time taken: 15 mins. 00 secs.

- (4) Mr Parsons, watched by the pupils, carried out the same experiments again, and the pupils entered the results in the prepared tables.

Time taken: 27 mins. 15 secs.

- (5) Pupils drew diagrams of the experiments. (This section was not observed. The whole of sections 1 - 4, however, were observed, taped and transcribed.)

Before the lesson started, Mr Parsons told me that he had been very dissatisfied with the tables of results produced

by his class during the previous lesson. These had been "messy", and the pupils had "not seemed to have had a clear idea of what they were supposed to be doing": indeed, he had said he had ended up drawing and completing half the tables himself. The present lesson, he said, would consequently focus not on developing concepts related to chemical interactions, nor indeed on providing new labels for existing concepts: rather, it would be a lesson devoted almost exclusively to matters of convention and procedure - in particular, how to copy up and complete a table of results:

That's really got to be the main teaching aim at this point with these pupils. They can't even draw a table properly. Without that, they can't enter their results, and so it goes on. It's a matter of giving them skills in the right order, starting with the most basic - and that's really a matter of learning appropriate procedures: you know, how to do things - all that communicative competence stuff⁵.

(Mr Parsons).

It was for this reason, perhaps, that work on the drawing-up of tables occupied more lesson-time, and was given greater emphasis - largely through the teacher's tone of voice and rather brusque manner - than conducting the experiments or

entering data into the tables. The procedure being given primacy, that is to say, was the specific procedure of the manner of presenting information in an 'acceptable' way - and, as Mr Parsons argued later, "a way that is expected in public examinations". What such procedure was being given precedence over was, as we shall see, an appreciation and understanding of the experiments themselves and a grasp of the names of the substances involved in the experiments.

This primacy, which matches Mr Parsons' observations about teaching things "in the right order" and starting with "the most basic", clearly manifested itself in Mr Parsons' comments to the class as they went about producing their 'skeleton' tables:

"I want to see good, neat tables"; "tables never in pen"; "good... well done, good table"; "Good, Parul: you've done a good job there... Look, everybody; look at Parul's table: it's good, isn't it!"; "Excellent. That's good, Kenneth; you've spread them out very well".

This same kind of emphasis characterised much of the pupils' learning at Kursal Lane. The following observations were made, for example, by Mrs Singh near the beginning of a lesson on measuring that we shall consider in greater depth in the following chapter:

"That's nice. Try to write at the end of the line or at the bottom"; "Oh, that's too untidy"; "Do your work so that it looks absolutely beautiful: you hold up your work and say 'Ah! Lovely work!'"; "It's better if you draw on the line, see?"; "Don't call out like that, please"; "What happened to your book? Something's fallen from your lunch-packet"; "Why have you started drawing lines in ink? Why ink? You've just done the opposite. I said do your writing in ink and draw the line in pencil. All drawing must be done in pencil".

Nor was this emphasis confined to advice on or observations about pupil's actual work: in practice, it extended to matters of personal organisation and to specific preparations preceding work, as the following extract from Mr Parson's lesson, taken from the start of the second section, shows:

DIALOGUE 2

Mr P: Okay, everybody. Now... The first thing that we're going to do... Look. (Claps.) The first thing that we're going to do is... We have to draw this table... Now... Hold up your ruler...

Nizam: Yes, Sir.

Mr P: Hold up your ruler.

Ashikur: Yes.

Khalil: Yes, Sir.

Mr P: Sheli, hold up your ruler. I want to see everybody with a ruler in this classroom.

Nizam: Yes, Sir.

Mr P: Hold up your ruler. Where is your ruler? Ramzan, that's not a ruler.

Ramzan: (Holding up a set-square) Yes...

Mr P: Hold up your ruler. Where is your ruler? Where is your ruler?

Kenneth: (Imitating Mr P.) Hold up your ruler.

Ramzan: It's at home.

Mr P: No ruler! Where is your ruler?

Kenneth: Here.

Nizam: Here, Sir.

Mr P: You've got one. Okay. (To Ramzan) I'm going to
lend you my ruler. You give it back to me at
the end of the lesson, okay. There you go...
Hold up your pencils.
Hold up your pencils.

There is nothing remarkable, of course, in engaging in these sorts of discussions and rituals with pupils, in monolingual or in bilingual classrooms. Indeed, there is some theoretical support for including such approaches, already hinted at by Mr Parsons in his reference to 'communicative competence': that is to say (Hymes 1962) the notion that we need to know not only what is syntactically correct in language, but what is also appropriate - linguistically and behaviourally - in different situations, so that it is, for example, important and necessary for migrant bilingual pupils to develop expertise in Western scientific conventions of presentation. We could likewise argue that there is nothing very different in Mr Parsons' or Mrs Singh's approach from the approaches adopted by the teacher in Edwards' and Mercer's accounts: for example, the emphasis on ritual rather than principled knowledge, the use of procedure and discourse to maintain order and control, the pervasiveness of the IRF-type discourse, and the teacher's

control over what is learned and in what order of priorities.

We can, however, already highlight some critical differences between the teaching-learning situations described by Edwards and Mercer and those observed at Kursal Lane.

First, there was in the Kursal Lane classroom a very appreciable inbuilt linguistic differential, as well as an inbuilt cognitive differential, between teacher and pupils, that clearly affected not only discourse itself but pupil roles within discourse and relations of power. In any classroom, the teacher, rightly or wrongly, may be expected - and generally is expected by the pupils - to possess greater in-depth subject-knowledge than the pupils: at Kursal Lane, however, the teacher was also the only person in the room already fluent in the language of instruction⁶. As we shall see in Chapter Six, this was critically important in the area of discourse control, and represented a major deficiency of the 'language immersion' model of ESL teaching adopted by the Centre.

Second, the teaching at Kursal Lane was far more 'traditional' and 'strongly framed' (Bernstein 1977) than in the classroom described by Edwards and Mercer. For example, the IRF discourse adopted as standard at Kursal Lane was, for reasons we have already seen (to do with teachers'

notions of the place and value of pupils' L1 skills), never abandoned, even temporarily, to enable other forms of discourse to take place, such as discussions between pupils. Although group-work in the classes observed by Edwards and Mercer may have served to conceal the curriculum-led nature of the lessons, at least such discourses were permitted and encouraged. In all my observations at Kursal Lane, I could not record a single example of pupils being asked to discuss a problem or conduct an experiment together, either in their first languages or in the language of instruction. It is in this context that the exchanges recorded in **Dialogue 2** need to be read. In instances such as this, 'ritual knowledge' becomes more than simply acquiring and employing the signifiers required to please the teacher: it quite literally comes to mean learning the classroom rituals of general conduct imposed by the teacher, including such rituals as displaying a ruler to indicate a readiness to begin using it.⁷

Third, the evidence presented by Edwards and Mercer suggests that, in the domain of ordering and prioritising, primacy in the classrooms they observed was given to matters of curriculum: that is to say, the teacher's principal decisions related to what was to be learned - the 'what' embracing, as in Vygotsky's model (1962, 1978), matters of both language and learning. Presenting results in a standard, 'acceptable' way would be important, but of

principal importance would be achieving the results required by the curriculum, remembering them, and articulating them in appropriate terms.

In this sense, we could argue the matter of prioritisation in the classrooms observed by Edwards and Mercer was an 'intra-cognitive' issue: that is, the teacher decided what skills and concepts the pupils should 'know' today and what skills and concepts they should 'know' tomorrow. On the evidence of Mr Parsons' views and lessons, and the views of his colleagues at Kursal Lane, prioritisation here was, by contrast, a matter of choosing between cognition, language and procedure. Given this choice, the evidence of lesson observations supported Mr Parsons' suggestion that pupils needed to learn procedures first (what we might call 'the basic of basics'), followed by the appropriate terminology, followed by concept development⁸ - a particularly problematic approach, it could be argued, bearing in mind the age range in Mr Parsons' class, in which the oldest pupil was seventeen.

This last point of difference with the strategies described by Edwards and Mercer is of particular importance. At Kursal Lane, procedural activity such as that described above was not simply a device to facilitate classroom organisation and control: it was perceived as having a value in itself that 'positioned' it in the developmental

sense at a point prior to the development of conceptual and linguistic development. As such, its promotion could take place only at the expense of conceptual and linguistic development. Such a situation inevitably raises questions about the 'language-in-context' model adopted by the Centre, bearing in mind that, unlike pupils in the monolingual classroom, pupils here were intended to be learning not only curriculum content but a whole new language too.

5.4 Exercising Control Through Denial

To illustrate a further area in which pedagogy at Kursal Lane resembled but at the same time crucially differed from that described by Edwards and Mercer, I want to examine the ways in which a teacher was able to follow through a pre-planned programme of work through the twin devices of denying pupils opportunities to 'disagree' or to deviate, and of validating 'correct answers' (cf. Edwards & Mercer *ibid.*). These devices are, as we shall see, inextricably bound up themselves with more general issues of procedure: for example, the simple procedural instruction 'Don't talk when I'm trying to say something' can have the precise effect of curtailing a 'deviant' discussion.

In order to consider these matters further, let us look at another section of Mr Parsons' Science lesson, Section 4, in

which pupils are repeating a series of reactivity experiments already carried out the week before.

For the first experiment, the teacher has dropped a small piece of zinc into a test-tube containing water and had pupils pass this round in order to describe the result orally according to words and phrases introduced during the previous lesson and written up now on the board ('no change', 'fizzing', and so on). For the second experiment, the same procedure is followed, but this time the teacher has added water to a small piece of copper and invites predictions before passing the test tube round.

DIALOGUE 3

Mr P: Okay. Here's test-tube number 2. Right...
 Number 2. And what do we have...?

Various: Copper.

Mr P: Copper. Tested in water...
 What do you think is going to happen?

Ramzan: No-thing.

Kenneth: Nothing.

Mr P: You think nothing?

Leana: Nothing.

Mr P: No change? (Quoting one of the headings in the pupils' tables.) No change? Bubbles? Fizzing?

Various: No.

Mr P: No? Right, here we go, then. Ready?

Ashikur: Ready, steady, go. Oh...

Nizam: No change.

Mr P: Pass it round quickly. Ha- Have a look at it as well...

(Nizam and Khalil quietly converse in Sylheti: unclear.)

Mr P: Pass it, please.

(Nizam and Khalil: quietly in Sylheti, unclear.)

Mr P: Pass it...

No, you didn't look at it. (To Khalil) You didn't even look at it. Have a look at it.

Anything happening, Nizam? Can you hear anything?

Various: (Unclear)

Mr P: No.

Ramzan: Look, Sir.

Mr P: Right, pass it that way... Any change? (To Kenneth and Leana) No?

Kenneth: No, Sir.

Mr P: No change. Right, then. No - No change!

Kenneth: Nothing, Sir.

Mr P: Right... (Taps on board) Copper in water: What am I going to write?

Various: No change.

Mr P: No change.

(Writing) No... change.

In this dialogue it is not hard to recognise some of the teacher-control strategies quoted by Edwards and Mercer: for example, cued elicitation ('What am I going to write?'), validation ('Right, then. No - No change!'), and the use of the formulaic phrase delivered in unison ('No change!') - all carried out within a basic IRF discursive structure that promotes ritual rather than principled knowledge: that is to say, the reproduction of the appropriate words required to satisfy the teacher, rather than the development or acquisition of a concept that the pupils can 'take away' from the learning situation with them. The teacher not only controls the structure of the lesson but - even more so than in the classroom described by Edwards and Mercer - its apparatus too, putting water on to the substance himself, for example, and controlling the pace at which the test-tube is handed round.

At this point in the lesson, however, something unscripted occurs: one of the more confident pupils, Leana, introduces an observation of her own, and two other pupils, Ashikur and Ramzan, attempt to engage her in conversation:

DIALOGUE 4

Leana: No change... (Anticipating the next substance)
Calcium.

Ashikur: Cal-cium. (

Leana: (Apparently, returning her attention to the
Copper on Mr Parsons' desk) Oh... No...
Change!

Ashikur: (To Leana) Hey... Calcium... was fizzing...
er... change... er... erm... er... bubbles.

Leana: (To Ashikur) Yes, yes... bubbles... and, er...

Ashikur: (Unclear)

Leana: And... (Unclear)... Magnesium finished, yes.

Mr P: (To researcher, smiling) I arranged it, of
course. I primed them.

Ashikur: Fizzing... hot... hot... fizzing...

Ramzan: Fizzing, hot, fizzing!

Ashikur: Change...

Leana: Hot...

Ashikur: Fizzing... Hot...

Ramzan: (Excitedly) Oh, Sir....

Ashikur: Hot...

Mr P: Okay, now: I want everybody looking. Sheli, you're falling asleep this morning.

Nizam: Sleeping!

Mr P: Kenny! Kenny! Everybody looking now?

Kenneth: Yes.

Mr P: (To Ashikur and Leana, who are attempting to pursue their debate across the desks). Can you please stop? (To the whole class.) Looking!... Right... What am I doing for number 3? What am I testing?

Leana: Calcium.

Mr P: Calcium in water.

Various: 'Calcium in water'.

Ashikur: (Muted) Fizzing!

On the face of it, there is much that we might consider successful and even admirable in this section of the lesson. Certainly, a great deal of interest and excitement is generated, and certainly the L2 exchanges are context-embedded (cf. Cummins 1984, elaborated in Chapter Seven below), in the sense that they relate to concurrent activity. Furthermore, pupils have been invited to anticipate the chemical reactions through reference to their experience of the previous lesson, so that we can see a degree of continuity and supportive structure in the lesson.

Against these potential advantages, however, we need to remind ourselves that the main purpose of Mr Parsons' lesson - as indicated by the teacher himself in interview - was not to learn about chemical reactions but to learn how to present results in the approved tabular form: in other words, the prime function of the experiments was to provide data for a task which was, in essence, procedural and representational. When pupils called out "Nothing", "Fizzing", "Hot", and so on, they were providing appropriate English words to put into the appropriate English table. While they would certainly understand the meanings of some of the words they were using (for instance, "water") from their usage of those words in other similar and dissimilar situations, there was no evidence at all that they knew what "acid" or "copper" or "calcium" were,

why they reacted together the way they did, whether such reactions were inevitable, or what of value was to be learned from observing those reactions: nor was there any evidence that the teacher was prepared to talk to them about these things. Indeed, there exists contrary evidence, in the following post-lesson dialogue, that at least some of the pupils were dealing principally, if not exclusively, with signifiers (words as labels), as opposed to signifieds (words as meanings). Those signifiers, not having any clear or lasting meanings to which to attach themselves, were quickly confused or forgotten once the context was removed⁹.

DIALOGUE 5

AM: Tell me about your Science lesson with Mr Parsons.

Ashikur: Er... fizzing, and, er... smoke...

Leana: We... Cal... er... put... in... er... and...

Ramzan: Copper, copper.

Nizam: Fizzing.

Khalil: No change, no change.

Leana: Cal... er... bubbles... and er...

Khalil: Zum, zum.

AM: (Slowly.) What happened with copper and water?

Ashikur: Copper... yes.

Nizam: Fizzing, and...

Leana: Fizzing no... Copper no change.

In the case of one pupil, Leana, who had had considerable previous experience of English in her school in Iran and - it subsequently transpired - had been put into this class by accident, there was some evidence of a clear recall of the experiments. For the others, all that was remembered was a selection of actual and non-existent words, which may or may not have had some underlying meaning or relevance but which were slotted into the dialogue in a fashion very similar to that in which their written forms had earlier been slotted into their tables (cf. Vygotsky 1962, p. 83, already quoted). Except by Leana, not even the question "What happened with copper and water?" was apparently understood - or the answer known - despite its having been presented in a "face-to-face", context-embedded way (Cummins, 1984. See also Donaldson 1978 p.76, and Walkerdine 1982 pp.129-132).

Figure 11: Breakdown of Teacher-Pupil Contributions in Experimentation Section of Mr Parsons' Lesson

| | Teacher | Pupils |
|--|-----------|-----------|
| Questions: | 15 | 0 |
| Instructions: | 13 | 1 |
| Statements/ Observations: | 11 | 6 |
| Corrections: | 1 | 0 |
| Answers | 0 | 11 |
| TOTAL: | 41 | 18 |
| Instances of Invited Pupil-Pupil Dialogue: 1 | | |
| Instances of Uninvited Pupil-Pupil Dialogue: 3 | | |
| Number of pupils in class: 12 | | |

Perhaps things would have been different if these pupils had been allowed, contrary to Kursal Lane policy, to discuss what was happening, or to ask the teacher questions rather than being restricted by a teacher-established and teacher-controlled discourse to providing single-word answers to his questions. That this was never permitted is evidenced both by the IRF-based breakdown of this section of the lesson as a whole, given as Figure 11 above, and by the one occasion in the lesson when two of the more 'L2-competent' children, Leana and Ashikur, remembering experiments from the previous lesson, did attempt to engage in pupil-pupil dialogue. On this occasion, far from having their struggle to make meaning supported by the teacher, the pupils quickly found themselves in opposition to Mr Parsons in a

contest for control of the discourse. Unlike the monolingual classroom described by Edwards and Mercer (ibid.), there was not even, in this situation, the possibility for pupils to 'discover' a concept for themselves, or to feel that they were being invited to do so.

It is here that we need to examine in closer detail exactly what happened in Dialogue 4, and in particular what took place after Leana's ambiguous opening comment: 'Oh... No... Change!'

This opening comment had seemed to refer to the Copper which had just been tested and on which the 'agreed verdict' had been "No change": however, Ashikur clearly read the comment as referring to the substance which was about to be tested - Calcium - and, remembering with some excitement what had happened the last time Calcium had been tested, responded:

Hey... Calcium... was fizzing... er... change... er...
erm... er... bubbles.

Leana was happy to go along with this interpretation, and an excited discussion quickly ensued, bringing in another pupil, Ramzan.

Mr Parsons' initial reaction to Leana's and Ashikur's attempted discussion might at first sight be perceived as an example of a teacher not allowing preconceived purposes and planning to interfere with unanticipated opportunities for linguistic and cognitive development. His observation, "I arranged it, of course. I primed them", delivered with an approving smile, may be read as a clear indication of his knowledge that spontaneous pupil-pupil dialogue such as this was an important factor in cognitive-linguistic development, as well as his satisfaction that it should be occurring in this observed lesson.

Rather than encouraging the dialogue, however, which in fact did interfere with his own stated aims - including that of "getting a good table completed" - Mr Parsons quickly brought the class back to the business in hand through a series of procedural/disciplinary instructions:

"Okay, now: I want everyone looking."... "Everybody looking now?"..."Can you please stop?"..."Looking! Right... What am I doing for number 3? What am I testing?"

Linguistically, since they were no match for Mr Parsons in terms of fluency in the language of classroom power and control, the children were unable to challenge this usurpation of the discourse, and the chance of further

dialogue was lost, finally fading away in Ashikur's barely audible afterthought: "Fizzing!" For his own part, rather than utilize what the two pupils had successfully fought for - that is to say, genuine L2 interaction - Mr Parsons seemed happy to perceive the exchange as a beneficial effect of his teaching.

5.5 Restricted and Unrestricted Discourse: Everyday and Academic Language

Denying pupils access to spontaneous, conversational discourse in the interests of 'learning' was, as has already been indicated, a feature of lessons at Kursal Lane. However, it was of, course, the teacher who decided what learning was and what had to be learned. In the case of activities perceived as non-academic, decisions were occasionally taken to allow spontaneous discourse: indeed, these were the only occasions on which I saw spontaneous pupil discourses permitted beyond more than the briefest of exchanges.

To illustrate how this worked, let us consider the beginning of one of Mrs Singh's lessons. This was, it must be said, an unusual lesson, in that it was to be interrupted by a visitor from the local council who had come in to talk to the pupils about the decision to close the Centre down. Mrs Singh, who had expressed in interview her own desire that

the Centre should remain open, had decided to prepare her class for this visit, as follows:

DIALOGUE 6

Mrs S: Why do you come to the language unit?

Jamirun: We learning English every day.

Mrs S: Will you be all right if you went back to ordinary school. (This question was asked with a stress on the 'Will' and a slight but obvious shake of the head, which clearly invited the answer 'No'.)

Bhavesh: Yes.

Chirag: Yes.

Mrs S: Really? Will you be able to cope with the work? (Again, Mrs Singh's intonation clearly invited a 'No' response.)

Bhavesh: Yes.

Chirag: Yes.

Mrs S: And make friends?

Chirag: Yes.

Bhavesh: Yes.

Mrs S: And you will have no problems?

Chirag: No.

Bhavesh: No.

Mrs S: Why do you come here, then? Would you be able to do all right? Wouldn't it be difficult for you?

Chirag: A little bit.

Mrs S: A little bit? A lot, I think. Because here we do things very slowly. In English schools the teacher wants to get on very quickly, and if you're there they'll have to slow down and it won't be fair on the other children. If it was a big class, then you'd get left behind because the teacher hasn't got time to see everybody's work.

(At this point, the teacher broke off to repeat what she had said, in Bengali, to a small group of Bangladeshi girls.)

Do you like coming here?

All: Yes.

Mrs S: Why?

Jamirun: Because we can learn very very English.

Mrs S: What else would you like, apart from study?

Various: 'Art', 'Maths', (etc).

Mrs S: You'll be doing the same thing, but the thing is we're in smaller classes so we can go slowly... and we can learn important English too. Anyway, this man is coming to talk to you...

These opening exchanges are interesting in a number of ways. To begin with, because this part of the lesson was 'unscripted' and 'non-academic', Mrs Singh invited and allowed a discourse denied to her pupils during the course of the main body of the lesson, even to the extent of initiating a brief discussion in Bengali: a discourse in

which the pupils could introduce views into the dialogue - as opposed to 'right answers' - and so disagree with their teacher in what, despite Mrs Singh's leading role, began to take on the nature of a genuine conversation. It was also a discourse in which the language of the pupils' answers was not instantly corrected and replaced with an alternative, teacher-given form, and in which 'non-sentences' were treated as acceptable. We might contrast, for example, Jamirun's uncorrected "We can learn very very English" and "We learning English every day" with Mrs Singh's insistence in a previous lesson that Coly should recite the precise linguistic formulation: "We held a test-tube with a test-tube holder and held it over the flame".

In this new discourse, which much more closely resembles the academic and non-academic discourses the pupils would have been likely to meet in an ordinary school, the pupils themselves revealed L2 skills that were never displayed in the main body of the lesson. One could point, for instance, to Jamirun's immediate understanding of and well-formulated response to Mrs Singh's quite complex question: "Why do you come to the Language Unit?", or to Chirag's and Bhavesh's brave rejections of what can only be described as leading questions on Mrs Singh's part, or indeed to Chirag's easy reference to degree ("a little bit") in response to Mrs Singh's "Wouldn't it be difficult for you?". There was clearly no recalcitrance on the pupils' part to engage in

discourse of this kind, and one cannot help asking whether children capable of this level of L2 subtlety might not have been able to engage orally in similar ways when the subject matter was not the visit of a man from the council but a set of scientific experiments. In short, what the children showed themselves as capable of, both in terms of understanding and in terms of expression, in these early exchanges mismatched very significantly with the actual discourses they were expected and allowed to participate in when Mrs Singh turned her attention away from the unscripted back to the scripted part of her lesson. To place this within the context of the Centre's espoused educational philosophy, we could say that she was happy to allow 'everyday English', complete with errors, into her classroom when discussing something specifically detached from the curriculum, but would only allow - and indeed insisted on - formal academic language when the curriculum was visible: that is to say, in these more formal situations the pupils' language was not only corrected but also very carefully 'rationed'. (By way of contrast, see Dialogue 17 in Chapter Seven below, when we shall consider the extent to which 'everyday English' can be beneficial in academic situations.)

Thus it was that as soon as the shift had been made back from non-academic to academic matters, the discourse was similarly shifted back in favour of the strategies that had

characterised Mrs Singh's previous lessons with this class:

Mrs S: What experiment did we do yesterday, Poly?

Poly: (Silence.)

Mrs S: What did we do? What substance did - we - take?

Poly: (Silence.)

The flexibility Mrs Singh had felt able to introduce when the subject under discussion was non-academic, including tacit permission for pupils to make use of their own 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1974¹⁰) complete with syntactic errors, disappeared in an instant as soon as the scripted lesson got under way: the teacher talked and asked questions that had right answers, the pupils responded, often with silence; the teacher enunciated and wrote up scientific words and forms of expression, the pupils imitated them. The rest of the lesson unfailingly adhered to this pattern:

DIALOGUE 7

Mrs S: Lutfa, tell us what happened next.

Lutfu: Then fizzy.

Mrs S: We... Did we see fizzing?

No... We could hear a fizzing noise.

Jamirun: Water is coming.

Mrs S: Water came out. We did it yesterday, so it's finished. How did it come out?

Various: Heating!

Mrs S: (Ignoring this answer) Did it come out like a tap?

Jamirun: No, 'cause it was smoking.

Mrs S: What do we call smoking water? It's not really smoke; smoke is from a fire. But water that looks like smoke, we call it... vapour.

To refer again to Edwards and Mercer, we can trace in these exchanges another significant variation from the discourses they describe in essentially monolingual classrooms. That is to say, at Kursal Lane it was not simply the "formulaic phrase" that 'substituted' for real, "principled" knowledge: it was, rather, the 'correct' form of words in all or any

oral and written exchanges that could be perceived by the teacher as 'academic'. We could thus argue that in Mrs Singh's classroom all 'official' dialogue was carried out through strings of formulaic phrases and sentences, while the only dialogues in which non-formulaic responses were tolerated were those that were 'unofficial' and therefore invested with less importance. The formulaic phrase itself was, correspondingly, presented by the teacher not so much as a support for the pupils' learning but as something worthy of learning in its own right.

5.6 Exercising Control Through Validation

The habitual refusal to allow deviations from the prepared lesson plan (as opposed to the overall curriculum), or from admissible discourses, was supported in the Kursal Lane classroom by another strategy described by Edwards and Mercer: that of validation (see **Marking knowledge as significant and joint**, above).

One of Mr Parsons' strategies for preventing 'wrong' answers and misunderstandings from intruding on his scripted lesson was to ignore them or 'not to see' them. In this, he was assisted by the presence in class of Leana and, to a lesser extent, of Kenneth. Repeatedly, it was Leana and Kenneth who provided the 'correct' answers to Mr Parsons'

questions, which Mr Parsons was able to validate as if they had come from the class as a whole.

Sometimes, these correct answers were picked up by other members of the class:

DIALOGUE 8

L: Iron.

Ke: Iron.

Ni: Iron.

Sh: Iron!

Mr P: Very good. Number four was iron.

Mr P: What was the second one, Sheli?

Sh: Two.

Ke: Copper!

Mr P: Yes... Second one (To Sheli)

Sh: Copper!

Mr P: Well done.

At other times, they came from Leana and Kenneth alone:

DIALOGUE 9

Mr P: The third one we tested was -

L: Calcium.

Mr P: Calcium was third.

L: Iron.

Mr P: The fourth one we tested was -

L: Iron.

Ke: Iron.

Mr P: The - iron... Iron was fourth. The fifth one we tested was -

L: Magnesium.

Ke: Magnesium. Magnesium was fifth.

Either way, Mr Parsons' tendency was to respond as if the whole class were contributing correct answers and had therefore, by implication, satisfactorily learned the labels he wanted them to learn, thus freeing him to proceed to the next phase of the scripted lesson. Although Leana in this particular lesson was singled out for special praise quite early on - "Well done. You've got a very good memory Leana." - generally speaking her answers were treated by Mr Parsons as whole-class responses. Thus, when Sheli and Ashikur repeated Leana's correct answer 'Magnesium' to his question "What was number five that we tested?", his "Well done" was directed at them rather than at Leana. The same thing occurred immediately afterwards, when Ashikur repeated Leana's correct answer 'Sodium', while at the end of a short class-test in which all but one of the answers

were supplied by Leana and Kenneth, he was to say: "Well done, 2D."

Actual wrong answers, meanwhile, were either dismissed outright:

Mr P: Can you remember how many we did with acid?

L: One.

Mr P: No, we did more than one.

or treated as misunderstandings:

Mr P: How many experiments did we do altogether?

Ra: One...Two...Eight!

Mr P: No... not people. How many experiments did we do altogether?

or rewarded by being treated as if they were correct answers:

Mr P: Number four was iron. Good.

Kh: Copper.

Ra: Number six copper.

Mr P: Good.

Checking that these pupils had a recollection of the experiments they had completed, let alone any understanding

of them, thus remained a pretence of checking, as indeed it had to do: for genuine checking would have risked a slowing down of the planned programme, leading to insufficient linguistic/procedural ground being covered. It seems not implausible, moreover, to suggest that this same determination to complete the lesson-plan may have had some further influence, on the length of responses permitted and therefore offered by the pupils. A close examination of Mr Parsons' lessons, for example, reveals that his pupils, in their role of respondents in the strict IRF discursive structure, invariably limited their answers to one-word answers or short, memorised phrases ("copper", "fizzing", "no change" and so on) that appeared to have little meaning out of the context of the discourse. Furthermore, it was, generally speaking, the nature of the questions posited by the teacher that encouraged and invited such answers.

We could point to a similar situation in Mrs Singh's lessons, whereby pupil inputs were also 'planned in advance', and where only linguistically correct inputs of prescribed lengths and formats were permitted:

DIALOGUE 10

Mrs S: What happened to Copper, Coly? Was there any
flame?

Coly: No.

Mrs S: No... what? Come on, it's here, read it out
(pointing to the board).

Coly: (Slowly and unsurely) 'We - held - a - test-tube -
with - a - test-tube - holder - and - held - it -
over - the - flame.'

DIALOGUE 11

Mrs S: Is five centimetres - longer - than - eight
millimetres...?

Jam: Shorter.

Mrs S: Give me a whole sentence, please.

Jam: Five centimetre is... er [...] shorter - longer
than eight...

Mrs S: Eight what?

Jam: Millimetre.

(See also Keddie's example, in Keddie 1971, of a teacher showing greater concern for a pupil's language than for the answer it expressed.)

5.7 Summary

Using Edwards' and Mercer's classifications of 'marking knowledge as significant and joint', 'cued elicitation', and the use of 'reconstruction', 'presupposition' and 'paraphrase' to define teacher strategies designed to control pupils' learning, behaviour and access to classroom discourses in monolingual classrooms, I have attempted to show how similar strategies were applied in the Kursal Lane classroom but with significant variations.

I have sought to relate the most significant of these variations to the ends to which the strategies were applied. Specifically, I have argued that a decision at Kursal Lane to prioritise matters of procedure and language over both curriculum content and cognitive development was at least partly responsible for pupils being refused access to existing language skills, being discouraged from talking to one another other than through the teacher, and being denied access to exploratory discourses that might lead them to a variety of conclusions, some of them deemed 'wrong' by the teacher. I have presented these key differences, and the

prioritisations underpinning them, in the context of the 'language-led' approach adopted by the Centre and described in some detail in Chapter Four. In this approach, teachers did not follow an externally-fixed curriculum, but designed their own 'modified' curriculum in strict accordance with assessments of their pupils' (L2) linguistic 'readiness'. These assessments gave primacy to 'academic' linguistic forms over everyday or 'social' language, providing another reason for pupils being denied access to pupil-pupil dialogues, either in their own first languages or in English.

So far, I have focussed on the strategies themselves. But what were the possible effects of such strategies on Kursal Lane pupils in terms of those pupils' linguistic-cognitive development? And how differently might they have fared in an alternative teaching-learning environment?

In order to respond to these questions, it is necessary to turn our attention to practices which were qualitatively different from those described by Edwards and Mercer: that is, to accept that pupils at Kursal Lane were exposed to many of the same strategies they would be likely to meet in mainstream education, but to indicate other strategies that might be expected to work counter to their interests once they had graduated from the Centre. In doing this, it will be important to keep in mind Walkerdine's assertions that

children are incorporated "through the medium of signs [...] into the social practices which make up our everyday life" and that it is necessary for children, through education, to learn to take up "various positions" within those discourses (Walkerdine 1982, pp. 129 & 133). To what extent, we need to ask, were Kursal Lane pupils incorporated into 'everyday' social practices through participation in a wide range of discourses? And what 'positions' were they allowed to take up in the discourses to which they were given access?

**CHAPTER SIX: DISCOURSE AT KURSAL LANE: LANGUAGE, COGNITION
AND CONFUSION**

**6.1 'Giving Them the Language First': Inappropriate
Linguistic Models in the Language-Led Classroom**

Walkerdine (1982) has argued, with reference to Piagetian theories of human development, that

Piaget proposes the possibility of a separate and primary theory of the child's appropriation of the world of objects [...] and a secondary process by which concepts formed at this level are represented by signifiers. Thus in Piaget's terms the production of the sign happens in terms of grafting of signifiers on to existing concepts.

(Walkerdine 1982, p.130)

As we have already seen, the philosophy at Kursal Lane was to attempt to provide pupils with the signifiers (the words and linguistic structures) first, and then to tackle the concepts: a plan which had, perforce, to ignore the fact that the pupils' conceptual development - achieved through a first language effectively banned from the Kursal Lane classroom - might already be at an advanced stage.

This notion of teaching 'language first' took on many forms, some of them not immediately obvious to the uninformed observer, and, as we shall see, brought about a number of confusions in pupils' perceptions and performance.

To begin, I want to look again at Dialogue 2, already discussed in Chapter Five in the context of primacy being given to matters of procedure.

DIALOGUE 2 (EXCERPT)

Mr P: Okay, everybody. Now... The first thing that we're going to do... Look. (Claps.) The first thing that we're going to do is... We have to draw this table.... Now... Hold up your ruler...

Nizam: Yes, Sir.

Mr P: Hold up your ruler.

Ashikur: Yes.

Khalil: Yes, Sir.

Mr P: Sheli, hold up your ruler. I want to see everybody with a ruler in this classroom.

Nizam: Yes, Sir.

Mr P: Hold up your ruler. Where is your ruler? Ramzan,
that's not a ruler.

Ramzan: (Holding up a set-square) Yes...

Mr P: Hold up your ruler. Where is your ruler? Where
is your ruler?

Kenneth: (Imitating Mr P.) Hold up your ruler.

Ramzan: It's at home.

At first sight, it may be - to use Edwards' and Mercer's terms of reference - the ritualistic, procedural nature of this discourse that strikes the uninitiated observer, and indeed this still appears to be its primary purpose: the teacher seems to use this section of the lesson to establish discipline and control, to check that everyone has the appropriate equipment, to assert his authority as the instructor, and so on. It is evident, however, that one can only confidently be clear about a teacher's aims and objectives by asking the teacher what those aims and objectives were - a practice carried out throughout the project, through pre- and post-lesson interviews with teachers at both institutions. It transpired in

conversation with Mr Parsons after this particular lesson that there had been a secondary reason for his conduct: that is to say, he had wanted to undertake some basic 'vocabulary work':

I partly wanted to reinforce some basic vocabulary: ruler, pencil and so on. In that respect, it was a bit of a test. Of course, they also need to be organised: they're constantly forgetting equipment, in spite of my nagging.

This structuring, or, in this case, part-structuring of a lesson around elements of vocabulary was a feature of lessons at the Centre that was not without problems, as the following example, also taken from Mr Parsons' Science lesson, shows.

In the first part of this lesson, Mr Parsons 'tested' the class on the experiments they had completed the previous week and were about to complete again: not a test of their understanding of what had taken place, but a memory test in which, in order to 'please their teacher' (Edwards & Mercer, 1987), pupils had to repeat certain key words ('copper', 'calcium', and so forth) and to indicate a recollection of what had taken place. This 'test' began as follows:

DIALOGUE 12

Mr P: Now, listen carefully. How many experiments did we do last week?

Pupils: Seven - Six!

Four! Four!

Six! Six!

Five! Five!

Mr P: All right, listen again. All right, listen again. Listen again. Listen again. I'm going to change the question. How many substances did we test?

Pupils: Five!

Six!

Six!

Five!

[...]

Mr P: We tested six. Do you remember the names of them?

Leana: Er... (unclear)... Zinc, er... (unclear)

Mr P: Good. One was Zinc... (Writes 'Zinc' on board.)

Leana: Copper.

Nizam: Copper.

Mr P: One was Copper... (Writes 'Copper' on board.)

Number 2 was Copper. Ashikur, we tested Copper.

Very good. Copper. What was number 3 that we tested?

Our first response to this may be to perceive it as a simple memory test: a device used to re-introduce the topic in question to pupils who had been present at the previous lesson, while at the same time getting those pupils to tell other pupils, who had not been present, what they had missed. The rephrasing of the original question, from "How many experiments did we do?" to "How many substances did we test?" may be seen from this perspective as a sensible device for facilitating the pupils' responses by incorporating into it words they had been taught previously ("substances", "test") in place of a word with which they might have been less familiar ("experiments").

What, however, are we to make of Mr Parsons' question :
"What was number 3 that we tested?" - not, that is to say,

of the substance of the question, but of the language in which the question is phrased?

Stubbs (1983 p.44) has observed that teachers' talk is characterized "by discourse sequences which have few, if any parallels outside teaching".¹ What might be added to this is that

- (a) Teachers may use linguistic structures that have few if any parallels outside teaching;
- (b) Different pupils, according to their age, cultural and linguistic backgrounds and so on, may encounter differing degrees of difficulty, and experience differing degrees of success, in understanding these particular characteristics of classroom discourse and incorporating them, in ways that make sense, into their overall, emergent pictures of language genres and usages (see, for example, Tizard & Hughes 1984). It seems not unreasonable to suggest that for bilingual pupils still relatively unused to the language of instruction (both formally and functionally), these difficulties will be rather more pronounced than for most other pupils;
- (c) There is a particular responsibility on teachers of bilingual pupils to provide linguistic models that will help their pupils in the 'normal' classroom rather than

confusing them or presenting models which may subsequently have to be corrected (see also Wiles 1985a & b);

(d) There is, traditionally, a tendency for English language courses for bilingual pupils to be particularly characterised by the use of English that

[bears] only a distant relationship to English as it is regularly used. [Such courses] try, for example, to teach learners sentences they will rarely hear or be called on to use ('This is the green pencil. The boy in the blue coat is posting the letter. '), require them to answer in 'full sentences', and correct them for using dialect forms which go uncorrected when used by their peers.

(Wiles 1985a, p.20)

To relate this to Mr Parsons' language, we could suggest that the expression "What was number 3 that we tested?" was neither a standard way of phrasing this particular question ("What was the third substance we tested?" would have been more normal) nor an appropriate linguistic model. Neither was it a one-off occurrence or a mere slip of the tongue, as a continuation of the dialogue reveals:

DIALOGUE 13

Leana: Calcium!

Kenneth: Calcium!

[...]

Mr P: Good. Calcium. Well done. You've got a good memory, Leana. (Writes 'Calcium' on board.)
OK. What was number 4 that we tested?

Leana: Iron.

Kenneth: Iron.

Nizam: Iron.

Mr P: Very good. Number 4 was Iron. (Writes 'Iron' on board.)

[...]

Mr P: What was number 5 that we tested?

Why, we may ask, does Mr Parsons continue to make use of this unusual linguistic construction? The answer is

provided partly by what happens subsequently in the lesson, partly by Mr Parsons' own testimony, and partly through reference to the language-led model of curriculum and pedagogy pursued at the Centre.

Having elicited all six tested substances from the class, Mr Parsons initiated the following discourse:

DIALOGUE 14

Mr P: All right, looking now. No writing. No writing. Pencil on the table. Thank you. (Taps chalk on board.) Looking this way everybody. Ashikur. Ashikur. Looking this way... Looking... Now we tested... how many substances?

Leana: Six.

Mr P: Yes. One, two, three, four, five, six. (Pointing to substances listed on board.) Right, I'm going to number them. (As he does this, the pupils quietly repeat the numbers.) Now, the first one we tested was zinc. [...] Zinc was first... Zinc was first. The second one we tested was-

Ashikur: Copper.

Mr P: Copper... Copper was second.

Leana: Calcium.

Mr P: Calcium. Calcium was third.

The fourth one we tested was...?

Leana: Iron.

What is immediately apparent is that Mr Parsons has changed from using an 'abnormal' linguistic construction ("What was number... that we tested?") to a 'normal' one ("The first one we tested was Zinc", and so on.) If Mr Parsons felt able to use such a normal construction now, incorporating the use of ordinal numbers ('first', 'second', 'third', and so on), why, we may ask, did he so assiduously pursue the abnormal construction previously, deliberately avoiding the use of ordinals?

The reason, I suggest, is that Mr Parsons had quite consciously denied himself the opportunity of using a normal construction to begin with. This was because, in Mr Parsons' model of linguistic development, children must first learn to use cardinal numbers ('one', 'two', 'three', and so on)

before they can use ordinals: that is to say, ordinals are perceived as relating to a higher or more complex kind of language use. Until pupils are deemed ready for them, a screen must be placed between the pupils and these more advanced linguistic formats, even if this involves using another form of language, specifically invented for the purpose, that is nothing like the English they must expect to encounter in the 'outside world'.

That this is an appropriate interpretation of Mr Parsons' pedagogy - and that it was, indeed, the notion of linguistic rather than cognitive development that was uppermost in his mind - is supported (a) by his own observations after the lesson, (b) through reference to other instances of this kind of linguistic 'rationing' in his teaching.

In interview, I told Mr Parsons I had noticed that he had used cardinals first and then ordinals later, and asked if this had represented any problem:

Mr P: You noticed that, did you? That's good. (Half joking) It's nice to know you sometimes get credit for planning, and it doesn't all just happen. No... I've been doing a lot of number work with this class: orthographic one to ten [ie. writing numbers out as well as ciphering them], ordinals first to tenth. We've only just started with the

ordinals, so you can't bandy them about too freely, but going over the experiment it just seemed too good an opportunity to miss. You may have noticed I had to start by using cardinals; then you sort of move up a notch and revise the ordinals.

AM: So is this a linguistic or a cognitive matter? I mean, do they understand 'first', 'second', 'third' as concepts? Or is it just the language thing?

Mr P: Yes, of course they'll know 'first', 'second', 'third' - what they mean: they'll know this from their first languages - Bengali or whatever. It's really just getting them to remember what 'one' refers to as opposed to what 'first' refers to. 'One' is the standard, isn't it: the cardinal. 'First' is more specialised, and there may be occasions you'd use it in English when you wouldn't in, say, Bengali. In fact, I know that's true.

Later on in the same lesson, another variation on Mr Parsons' language-led approach was to raise this same issue in a significantly different form. In response to Mr Parsons' question about the previous lesson "How many experiments did we do with water?", one pupil, Ramzan, answered "Half". This answer appeared so wide of the mark to Mr Parsons (the correct answer was six) that he treated

it as a misunderstanding: "No, no. Not 'How much water was in the test-tube?'"

In fact, Ramzan had not been present at the previous lesson, and it seems unlikely he would have posited a guess related to the amount of water that had been added to the various substances. Bearing in mind that Mr Parsons had already told the group that they had tested a number of substances with water and then with acid, and that he had gone to great pains to display twelve test-tubes in a row at the front of the class ("Let's spread them out... Now then... How many experiments did we do with water?"), it seems more likely that Ramzan's answer was not wide of the mark at all: that instead of saying "Six of the experiments were done with water" he had deduced, quite correctly, that "Half of the experiments were done with water."

For Mr Parsons to have accepted the answer "half" as correct, he would have needed to accept the premise that Ramzan had expressed his answer not as a number but as a fraction. Mr Parsons had not yet done fractions with this class, however: that is to say, from his perspective his pupils might already have possessed "half" as a loose, 'everyday' concept, but they would not yet possess it as a scientific concept: nor, linguistically, had fractions been tackled, since these must be preceded by complete competence in and knowledge of whole numbers.

We could argue that, in his unqualified dismissal of Ramzan's answer, Mr Parsons not only overruled the possibility that Ramzan's existing linguistic and conceptual development might be ahead of his own developmental plan for the class: he also missed a potentially very useful teaching point. If this interpretation is correct, there are clear and very serious implications regarding teacher expectations of their pupils and the effects on pupils when those expectations are transmitted to them.

The central point I am making here, however, is less to do with linguistic rationing, which has already been dealt with at some length in the previous chapter, and more to do with the effects of such rationing on the linguistic models presented by teachers to their bilingual pupils - especially in situations such as that at Kursal Lane where the teachers' English provided the only models to which pupils had access. In this context, Mr Parsons' unelicited justification for his 'language readiness' approach, that "You can't do too much, because some of them are still just coming to grips with the cardinals and if you're not careful you just end up getting them confused" needs to be set against the use of the abnormal linguistic construction required to 'hold off' the introduction of 'more advanced' language, which is in itself likely to result in confusion. It must also be viewed in the context of other abnormal constructions that characterised other aspects of his

teaching, including those concerned principally with procedure: for example (DIALOGUE 14) the avoidance of normal verb imperatives such as "look" and "stop" and their replacement with participles:

All right, looking now. No writing. No writing. Pencil on the table. Thank you. [...] Looking this way everybody. [...] Looking this way... Looking...

Here, the 'normal' language of the classroom - the language the pupils will meet when they leave the Centre to attend mainstream schools - might be: "All right, look this way now. Stop writing. Put your pens and pencils on the table. I want everybody looking this way". This would subsequently - cf. Wiles 1985, p.20 - be the most useful language form for these pupils to be given.

If the language-led curriculum is giving the pupils incorrect linguistic models, regardless of what it does to their conceptual development, it may not be inappropriate, again, to ask questions as to the validity of such a model.

6.2 Linguistic Confusions: Science with Mrs Singh

That pedagogies based on notions of language readiness can confuse both pupils and teachers, and that they can adversely affect both cognitive and linguistic development,

was demonstrated in a number of lessons at Kursal Lane, of which I want to consider a Science lesson given by Mrs Singh to a group of eleven- and twelve-year-olds.

During their previous Science lesson, the class had been watching Mrs Singh heat various substances - magnesium, copper, copper sulphate and cobalt chloride - and their job now was to write up tables of results. The class remained silent throughout the lesson, except when invited to respond by Mrs Singh, who carefully talked them through the experiments drawing close attention to her vocabulary and sentence structure. On the board there were useful words, phrases and sentences that had been written up at the time of the experiments:

DIALOGUE 15

Mrs S: We held it in the flame. ('It' here refers to the test-tube containing a particular substance. Mrs Singh talks very slowly and carefully.)

Ps: (Imitating, unbidden.) We - held - it - in - the - flame.

Mrs S: We call it 'it'... Not 'the test-tube'. We don't want to say 'the test tube', because it is too many words. So we say 'it'. It burned.

('It' here refers not to the test-tube but to the substance inside it.) It burned, didn't it. Jamirun said it was like on fire, so we say: 'It - burnt - with - a - white - light.' (These words are spoken in a sing-song fashion. Mrs Singh writes 'It' on the board, as she finishes speaking.) Now, who will spell 'burnt' for me?

(No one volunteers; so Mrs Singh sounds it out phonetically as she writes it on the board: "b - u - r - n - t: burnt.")

Mrs S: Watch. (Takes a match from a box and strikes it.) What is it that's burning?

(No one offers an answer.)

Mrs S: A flame. It's a flame, isn't it.

As with Mr Parsons, Mrs Singh allowed language, as a formal system, quite deliberately to dictate the content of her lessons. She was determined, as she put it in interview, to give her pupils the kind of scientific language they would need in secondary schools "if they are going to understand what the teachers are saying to them". This involved introducing appropriate linguistic forms and getting her pupils to practise them by oral repetition, as in:

We held it in the flame.

It burnt with a white light.

As time went on, Mrs Singh would, she said, introduce "more complex" linguistic conventions related to her subject, such as "A test tube was held over the flame" instead of - as in this lesson - "We held a test tube over the flame". By this time, pupils would "understand words like 'test tube' and 'flame' because we will have done them, they will have heard them a lot of times", so that it would be easier for them to put these terms into the passive form.

While there is nothing intrinsically objectionable in "giving pupils the scientific language they will need", there can be a problem, as has already been suggested in **Chapter Four** above, if this notion of language is divorced from the notion of concepts and if it is prioritised at the expense of cognitive development. A noticeable effect of the concentration on "language" in Mrs Singh's lesson was that, in the process, Science itself became a separate, almost incidental thing. As in the case of Mr Parsons, questions Mrs Singh might have asked monolingual anglophones of the same age - such as "Why do these changes occur?" or "Why do you think we are bothering to do these experiments?" - were never asked of her bilingual pupils, despite the fact that she was the only teacher at the Centre capable of conversing

with most of them in their strongest languages. (For an explanation of why Mrs Singh declined to take up this option, see 4.4 'The Cognitive-Linguistic Split' above.)

It is not just cognition that may be said to suffer in this model, however: ironically, there is some evidence that language development itself might suffer too.

One of the problems we considered in relation to Mr Parsons' lessons was that giving primacy to language can, paradoxically, cause the teacher to use language that is not a good model for pupils to copy because it is unlikely to be encountered in ordinary school classrooms. We could argue that in her own way Mrs Singh experienced - and perpetuated - the same sort of difficulties, albeit in a somewhat different way. An example of this in these early stages of her lesson would be in her use of the word 'it', culminating in her very confusing question: "What is it that's burning?" (See Dialogue 15 above.)

Mrs Singh, it will be remembered, was at some pains to introduce and to justify the use of the pronoun 'it' in scientific accounts. The time had come to talk about 'it' in her lessons, just as the time had come to use ordinals in Mr Parsons'. A problem with 'it', however, is that unless we use it very carefully it can cause confusions. This was a matter not previously entered into by Mrs Singh because it

would have proved, as she put it in interview, "too difficult to explain". Instead, the pupils were left to experience the confusion first-hand, as Mrs Singh herself first used 'it' to refer to the test-tube, then, without indicating any change of object, to refer to the substance inside the test-tube. Having already created one confusion, she then proceeded to another. The expression 'It burned'/'It burnt' was elaborated at sufficient length for pupils to have grasped the notion that the verb 'burn' was intransitive in this context, and the 'it' preceding it must refer to some object that was on fire². Having established this usage, Mrs Singh next struck a match and asked the question: "What is it that's burning?"

In the context of what had gone before, a reasonable answer to this question might have been 'the match' - an answer not provided by the pupils because no one at this stage knew the signifier 'match'. It transpired, however, that this was not the answer Mrs Singh had in mind: her answer was 'the flame' - an apparent nonsense, because it is not flames that burn, it is objects: that is to say, flames are not what burn, they are the burning.

How can these linguistic confusions occur? One answer is that Mrs Singh - and, we could argue, Mr Parsons - may have simply got 'too close' to the language she was using: that is to say, by concentrating on 'language' - in this case, a

new signifier - and treating it as a separate entity, Mrs Singh herself may have come to see only the importance of the signifier and actually created a blind-spot for herself in which she had ceased to see the broader cognitive-linguistic context in which it was being presented. This apparently included a failure to be aware of what, under other circumstances, her common sense would have told her: that is to say, that her language was confusing from the perspective of her pupils - a fact revealed in the same pupils' inability to provide an answer in the first place and, when the question "What was it that burned?" was asked again later in the lesson, an additional lack of response on the part of all but two pupils, who each told the teacher they did not understand.

6.3 Cognitive-Linguistic Confusions: Difficulties with the Formulaic Phrase

In order to explore this point a little more fully, I want to turn to another of Mrs Singh's lessons with class 1C. This lesson, although officially another Science lesson, was used by Mrs Singh to do some of the mathematics she felt her pupils would need when they went to secondary school.

The lesson involved measurement and estimation. At the start, the pupils were given a worksheet on which nine lines of varying lengths were labelled A to J. The pupils had to

measure these lines, then copy them into their books, noting down the length in millimetres of each one. After this, they had to draw a further sixteen lines according to measurements given on another sheet ('12mm', '71mm', etc.).

Having had the words 'estimate', 'millimetre' and 'centimetre' explained to them, the pupils next had to do three things:

- (1) Draw up a table in which to present results (copied from the board);
- (2) Estimate the lengths of a number of lines given to them and enter those estimates in the table;
- (3) Measure the lines and enter those results in the table.

This was followed by another exercise in which Mrs Singh wrote up a number of measurements on the board and the children had to draw lines of corresponding lengths in their books.

By way of introducing this set of exercises, Mrs Singh got the whole class to do one example together:

DIALOGUE 16

Mrs S: If the number - the digits are very large, then you know it will be... millimetres. (There is a pause as Mrs Singh writes two numbers on the board - '5cm' and '39mm' - to add to the three she has already written up: '8mm', '6cm' and '85mm'.) Now... we're going to do number five ['39mm'].

Jamirun: Five.

Mrs S: Look up, listen to me for a minute. Now, what do you think?

Chirag: Six centimetres.

Mrs S: Six centimetres. Do you think it's going to be (pointing to '39 mm' on the board) -

Chirag: Bigger -

Mrs S: Longer - or shorter than... thirty-nine millimetres?

Chirag: Longer... longer.

Mrs S: Six centimetres will be...?

Chirag: Longer.

Mrs S: Longer. Okay. Are we sure? Does everybody agree?

Chirag: Yeah. Yes.

Mrs S: Why not... isn't thirty-nine bigger than six?

Chirag: That's er... millimetre, that's centimetre.

Mrs S: That's millimetre and that's centimetre. Okay. Erm, Poly: eight millimetres, is it longer than eighty-five millimetres? Or shorter than eighty-five millimetres? Don't go back to your drawing, please. Think of these sentences: Is it longer than, or is it shorter than? Eight millimetres, is it longer than eighty-five millimetres, or is it shorter than eighty-five millimetres?

Pupils: Shorter.

Mrs S: Please... Eight millimetres is... shorter. Give me a whole sentence, please.

Pupils: Eight millimetre is shorter... eighty-five millimetre is longer.

Mrs S: Okay. Eight millimetres is shorter than -

Brian: Eighty-five.

Mrs S: Eighty-five millimetres.

Brian: Is longer.

Mrs S: (Not hearing Brian) Right.

Brian: Longer.

Mrs S: Mm? Okay? Or... Eighty-five millimetres is longer than... eight millimetres. Keep trying at these two sentences, or this whole sentence: Is longer than... is shorter than. Mm? Now, erm... Jamirun, please. Look up, look up, look up. Is five centimetres - longer - than - eight millimetres...?

Jamirun: Shorter.

Mrs S: Give me a whole sentence, please.

Jamirun: Five centimetre is er... shorter than eight...

Mrs S: Eight what?

Jamirun: Millimetre.

Mrs S: Okay. Five centimetres is...?

Jamirun: Shorter...Longer!...

Mrs S: ...than eight millimetres. Good.

On the face of it, Mrs Singh might be said to have been doing in this lesson the very thing I have claimed she was not doing: that is to say, focussing on concept development. There is some evidence, too, that for at least some of her pupils concept development was taking place or at least being confirmed: we could point, for instance, to Chirag's very quickly given answer that 6 centimetres is longer than 39 millimetres and his subsequent elaboration of this answer: "That's er... millimetre, that's centimetre". We might also suggest that Mrs Singh had made an attempt to pitch her lesson at a level appropriate to the pupils' age-group, and that there was a sense of conceptual progression in what she was doing. Certainly, these were her visible intentions, as she had stated in interview before the lesson began:

I want to teach them about measuring and estimating. The idea of estimation is very important for them to practise, and I think some of them find it hard to believe that in Maths or Science, which are such exact subjects, you are actually allowed to make a guess. We also need to do some work on millimetres and centimetres. This is very hard for some of them to realise that three centimetres can be bigger than twenty millimetres and so on. It's a bit more advanced than what we've mainly been doing so far in the mathematics area, which is really number work.

In reality, although the introduction of concepts of estimation and of the differentiation between centimetres and millimetres formed the broad structural base of Mrs Singh's lesson, her emphasis was still very much on decontextualised elements of language associated with the development of those concepts. Furthermore, while on the one hand pupils were being "surprised" by the notion that in the "exact" subjects of Science and Mathematics they were officially allowed to make guesses which might well be wrong (an apparent departure from previous experience in these lessons, where there were only right answers to the teacher's questions), they were simultaneously reminded that in the matter of language there was still, apparently, only one correct way of going about things, and to say

something in the wrong way was to expose themselves to instant correction. (See also Hull 1985, pp. 49-69.)

While there is nothing intrinsically contentious in Mrs Singh's lesson plan, which belongs to a well-tested pedagogical structure - an 'iconic' phase, in which pupils drew and measured lines in their books, followed by a more 'abstract' phase in which measurement-related concepts were brought into class discussion (cf. Walkerdine 1982 pp.145-49: also Bruner 1960 on 'enactive', 'iconic' and 'symbolic' approaches to learning) - there are at least two things that are questionable in this teacher's management of the lesson. First, her own contributions to any dialogue continued, through their length and frequency, to inhibit contributions from her students, with only three pupils, Chirag, Bhavesh and Jamirun, feeling confident enough to make unbidden contributions in any phase of the lesson. Second, it could be argued that her continued concentration on appropriate signifiers and syntactic forms - for instance, the insistence on 'full sentences' (cf. Wiles 1985a, p.20) - inhibited the development of the very concepts she wished to be teaching, and in some cases contributed to potentially serious linguistic and/or cognitive confusions.

An example of the teacher's emphasis on 'language' as opposed to 'content' occurred when she asked Jamirun: "Is

five centimetres longer than eight millimetres?" Jamirun quickly offered the wrong answer to this question ("shorter"), either because she had failed to grasp a central concept (one centimetre is the same as ten millimetres) or because she intended her "shorter" to refer to the last value Mrs Singh had given, that is to say 8 millimetres. Unless and until Mrs Singh questioned Jamirun further, she could have no way of knowing whether this was a linguistic confusion or a conceptual problem. Her response to Jamirun's 'wrong' answer, however, was to say "Give me a whole sentence, please": that is to say, she had chosen to focus on the linguistic aspect of her lesson at this point to such a degree that she had apparently not even noticed that the answer itself was a 'wrong' one. That Jamirun subsequently corrected herself may be seen in this instance as fortuitous.

This concentration on very specific aspects of language throws into even sharper relief an interesting paradox in Mrs Singh's lesson akin to that of Mr Parsons' "What was number three that we tested?" and that same teacher's idiosyncratic use of present participles. The paradox is that although Mrs Singh was at great pains to correct her pupils' English at every turn and to push them tirelessly into enunciating orally what were essentially correct written forms, there came a point at which she actively if unwittingly promulgated the use of what could only be

described in her own terms as 'bad English'.

An example of this particular problem occurred when one pupil, Brian, unusually decided to volunteer an answer to a question Mrs Singh had put to the whole class. Mrs Singh had been trying to persuade Poly to give a 'whole sentence' answer to the question: 'Is eight millimetres longer or shorter than eighty-five millimetres?':

DIALOGUE 16 (EXTRACT)

Mrs S: Eight millimetres is... shorter. Give me a whole sentence, please.

Poly: Eight millimetre is shorter... eighty-five millimetre is longer.

Mrs S: Okay. Eight millimetres is shorter than...?

Brian: Eighty-five.

Mrs S: Eighty-five millimetres.

Brian: Is longer.

Mrs S: (Not hearing Brian?) Right.

Brian: Longer.

Mrs S: Mm? Okay?

So intent was Mrs Singh at this point on getting the language right that she apparently failed to notice what was happening to Brian³. Her initial dialogue was with Poly, who had been first to respond to her question. The answer to this question apparently entailed no conceptual problem for Poly: it was little different from asking 'Which is more, eight oranges or eighty five oranges?', and Poly quickly gave the correct mathematical answer. Linguistically, however, Mrs Singh deemed her answer to be incorrect. Instead of acknowledging the correctness of the answer, therefore, she elected to criticise it on linguistic grounds: "Give me a whole sentence, please." This was considerably harder for Poly, but she made an attempt: "Eight millimetre is shorter.... eighty-five millimetre is longer." It was an attempt that might have been acknowledged as acceptable and appropriate by Mrs Singh, but that was itself criticised for not being the precise form introduced by the teacher previously and now being reinforced by her, ie. "Eight millimetres is shorter than eighty-five millimetres". In response to Poly's second answer, Mrs Singh consequently provided herself the bulk of the sentence she was seeking to elicit from her pupils: "Eight millimetres is shorter than...?"

It was at this point that Brian entered the dialogue, providing almost the correct mathematical/linguistic answer ("Eighty-five"), quickly corrected by Mrs Singh to the actual correct mathematical/linguistic answer ("Eighty-five millimetres"). That correct mathematical/linguistic answer having been established, Mrs Singh was now ready to move on to her next point, which was to reinforce the correct language through asking the class further questions based on the figures on the board. In doing this, she either overlooked or failed to hear Brian's continuation of the dialogue, which comprised the two contributions: "Is longer" and "Longer".

At first glance, these two unacknowledged contributions may seem too brief to be have had any real significance: perhaps Mrs Singh, if she had heard them, was right not to have allowed them to divert her from her chosen course. Closer inspection, however, reveals that they were, on the contrary, of considerable importance and were the manifestation of a linguistic confusion that Brian was to carry with him certainly into the later stages of the lesson and quite possibly beyond the lesson itself⁴.

What Mrs Singh had done was to bring into the lesson a form of words that she wished to pass on to her students, and to get that form of words vocalised. As soon as the last word of the correct form had been vocalised - "Eight millimetres

is shorter than eighty-five millimetres" - she was ready to move on to the next business. She had heard the vocalisation, knew that her students had heard it, and assumed that they would now be familiar with it. She also anticipated that they would have no trouble using the similar expression: "Eighty-five millimetres is longer than eight millimetres" - and indeed her writing on the board (Figure 12) was still there to assist them should they be in any doubt.

Figure 12: Board Support for Measuring Exercise

| <u>Measuring lines</u> | <u>19 January '88</u> |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. 8mm | |
| 2. 6cm | |
| 3. 85mm | |
| 4. 5cm | |
| 5. 39mm | |
| | is longer than |
| | is shorter than |

Brian, however, had not moved on to the next business with Mrs Singh's vocalisation of the word "millimetres". Partly using the evidence of what Mrs Singh had written on the board, partly going on her apparently finished spoken sentence "Eight millimetres is shorter than...?"

('apparently' finished because Brian had failed to pick up the question-mark in Mrs Singh's intonation), his assumption appeared to be that the form of words she was teaching the class was in two parts. The first part went: "Eight millimetres is shorter than"; the second, balancing part went: "Eighty-five millimetres is longer". Thus, his contribution "Is longer" was intended to complete Mrs Singh's initiation (as he heard it): "Eighty-five millimetres..." Mrs Singh's response "Right" had seemed to confirm the linguistic form he had now taken into his head: "Eight millimetres is shorter than eighty-five millimetres is longer"⁵.

A look at Brian's written answers at the end of the lesson (Figure 13) provides confirmation of the linguistic confusion. While Brian's answers were all correct mathematically, they were expressed in an inappropriate linguistic structure: a fact which might not matter at this early stage of L2 development, were it not for that other fact that correctness of expression had consistently been given primacy over cognition, not only by Mrs Singh but by most of her colleagues at the Language Centre. If an emphasis on linguistic form is to be allowed to dictate the 'content' and cognitive level of a lesson, the least that might be expected is that pupils should benefit 'linguistically' from that emphasis. As we have seen with reference to both Mrs Parsons' and Mrs Singh's lessons, this

is not necessarily the case: indeed, at Kursal Lane it was often the case that the reverse was true.

Figure 13: Brian's Written Answers to the Measurement Exercise

1. 8 millimetre is shorter than 85 millimetre longer than.
2. 6 centimetre is longer than 8 millimetre is shorter than.
3. 85 millimetre is longer than 6 centimetre is shorter than.

6.4 Restricting Discourse: Visible and Invisible Pedagogies

The argument in this and the previous chapter has been that bilingual pupils' linguistic and cognitive development at Kursal Lane Language Centre was restricted through exposure to a particularly narrow range of discourses and through participation in a particularly narrow range of roles within the discourses to which they were allowed exposure. While other researchers, such as Edwards and Mercer (1987), have observed discourse restrictions in monolingual classrooms, restrictions at Kursal Lane were significantly different in that pupils were denied opportunities for discussion, both through the imposition of a very rigid 'IRF' pattern of teaching and through a refusal to allow them to use their stronger languages in the classroom. Furthermore, because

language was given primacy in the Kursal Lane curriculum, cognitive levels were set below those considered appropriate in the monolingual classroom and pupils' previous cognitive - and linguistic - development was, in the normal course of events, overlooked. In addition to linguistic-cognitive disadvantages, it seems likely that social disadvantages would also have accrued in this system, partly because pupils at the Centre had no contact whatsoever during the school day with the language and customs of monolingual pupils of similar ages, and partly because - as several pupils, including Chirag, Bhavesh and Brian, regularly suggested in interview - they felt treated as if they were "stupid".

It was also clear, however, through the observations made by teachers at the Centre in interview and through their questionnaire responses, that these teachers' perceptions of their practice were markedly different in many respects from my own⁶. These differences did not apply so much to official policy matters - such as the belief in prioritising language or in denying first language use in the classroom - as to teachers' perceptions of what represented good pedagogy within the system being operated.

To illustrate this, we might turn to responses the teachers provided to questions about their knowledge of and support for educational theory. When asked "What research and

philosophies have most influenced your teaching?", for example, Piaget (1926) was referred to by eleven out of fifteen teachers questioned, Plowden (1967) by five and Bullock (1975) by five. When asked to elaborate, the following theoretical elements were prioritised:

- (a) the importance of 'discovery learning': that is to say, the teacher allowing pupils to 'discover' things for themselves in order to achieve greater understanding, rather than the teacher simply passing on information (the expression "discovery learning" was specifically and positively referred to by five teachers);
- (b) the importance of children being encouraged to ask questions;
- (c) the importance of a progression from first-hand experience ("understanding by doing", as one teacher put it) to more 'abstract' reasoning (a matter of policy at the Centre was for lessons to follow the concrete-iconic-symbolic pattern still favoured in many primary-school classrooms, in which, for example, arithmetical exercises involving money began with the use of real or cardboard coins, moved on to exercises involving pictures of coins, and ended up with symbolic representations of coins, that is to say numbers and other signs);

- (d) the acceptance of a notion of states of 'learning readiness' in cognitive development, in which each child is seen as an individual at a particular stage of 'readiness' and must have her/his work tailored accordingly.

It became my own view, based on the evidence of dialogues such as those investigated in this chapter, that these references to policy and practice did not - except, to a limited degree, in the case of (c) and (d) - generally accord with actual classroom practice. To deal with each point briefly, I have suggested the following mismatches:

- (a) The vast majority of teaching at Kursal Lane was the reverse of 'discovery learning', both in fact and through policy, with teachers very carefully controlling the 'input' of knowledge and skills and adhering very strictly to lesson plans.
- (b) Favoured classroom discourses at Kursal Lane were those designed to eliminate spontaneous pupils questions.
- (c) Although lessons were designed for first-hand experience to lead to more decontextualised thought and work, an emphasis on the 'surface' linguistic aspects of thought and work - essentially on new

signifiers and forms - severely restricted opportunities for pupils to explore and absorb new concepts (cf. Plowden's description of how "children's knowledge of the right words may conceal from teachers their lack of understanding" - Plowden 1967, para. 535).

- (d) All teachers at the Centre were convinced of the need to differentiate between individual pupils in terms of what they were ready to learn, both linguistically and cognitively, and all supported carefully structured programmes of work in which the 'easy' gradually led to the 'difficult'. Several teachers at the Centre referred to this as "child-centred education". In practice, however, pupils were carefully streamed by age and "language ability" to facilitate the teaching of "essential English" through lessons delivered by the teacher to the whole class. Contrary to the spirit of Plowden, though not, perhaps, to the work of Piaget, learning was treated as an individual, psychological act rather than a social one: that is to say, although the same lesson may have been deemed appropriate for a group of pupils, once the lesson had shifted from the teacher's 'delivery' to the pupils' practice, the pupils were perceived as working 'on their own' and were normally instructed to do so.

The phenomenon of teachers espousing one set of views and apparently practising another is not new and has been described in detail by a number of researchers (see, for example, Ball 1981, Sharp & Green 1975, and Edwards & Mercer 1987, already quoted at length). Reasons have also been posited as to why this should happen. Edwards and Mercer, for example, talk of the conflict between teachers wanting their pedagogies to be child-centred and having at the same time to cover an externally fixed curriculum, while Sharp and Green (1975) draw a distinction and possible area of conflict between "teaching perspectives", which are "situationally" specific (the situation being the 'real-life' classroom), and "teaching ideologies" which relate to wider issues including "the role and functions of education in the wider social context" (1975, pp. 68-70).

My contention is that contradictions of this precise kind cannot be held responsible for the theory-practice mismatches occurring at Kursal Lane. Here, for example, teachers were not constrained by any externally-fixed curriculum: rather, they had, as a group, decided on their own curriculum⁷. They had also worked out as a team what they perceived as acceptable ways of working within that curriculum: that is to say, they had considerably more autonomy than is the case in mainstream schools. It was, rather, as if in this case the teachers had created an area

of conflict themselves, through the espousal of an approach which would offer an alternative to that provided by mainstream schools: that is to say, the language-led - or, more precisely, the L2-led - curriculum, which demanded very strict limitations on pupil discourse. These limitations ran counter to widely-held ideologies at the Centre, that looser discursive arrangements ('weaker' framing in Bernstein's terminology [1977 pp. 79-84]) were educationally preferable. That the two oppositional models appeared able to co-exist quite comfortably within the teachers' collective consciousness can only be attributed to a certain 'invisibility'.

The notion of 'visible' and 'invisible' pedagogies was first elaborated by Bernstein (1977, Chapter 6) in the description of different aspects of teaching styles that were either overt or covert. Bernstein's use of the terms 'visible' and 'invisible' are, however, different from the uses I am suggesting in relation to pedagogy at Kursal Lane. Bernstein's perspective is essentially a functional one: an exploration of the ways in which different kinds of pedagogy operate to meet different - or even, in the broader perspective - the same ends (eg. the perpetuation of an education system controlled and weighted in favour of the middle classes). What is of particular interest about the teaching style at Kursal Lane is the extent to which the teachers' pedagogies were visible or invisible not to their

pupils or to the 'world outside' but to the teachers themselves.

This notion of invisibility is extremely important in the context of this thesis as a whole, and it will be developed as a central issue in relation to the considerations that follow of teaching styles at the second institution used in the research project, Company Road Secondary School.

6.6 Summary

This chapter has explored some of the effects of the language-led curriculum on the bilingual pupils at Kursal Lane. I have argued that inappropriate linguistic models were provided for pupils, both through the process of 'language rationing' and through an over-emphasis on matters of procedure. In addition to being exposed to these inappropriate models, which often led to linguistic confusions on the pupils' part, I have suggested that pupils were typically constrained to operate at cognitive-linguistic levels set by the teacher at a more basic level than those at which they were already operating. Rather than recognising such mismatches when they indicated themselves through pupil responses, I have suggested that teachers were prone to misinterpret such indications as pupil misunderstandings. I have also indicated a mismatch between teachers' perceptions of what they did - and of what was

good practice - in the classroom and what I perceived them to be doing through my observations of their lessons and through taped interview responses. I have suggested that a reason for this mismatch was to do with the fact that the teachers' practices and philosophies were often 'invisible' to themselves. I have sought to locate these teachers' pedagogies within the teaching strategies described by Edwards and Mercer (1987) in the monolingual classroom, but have also indicated certain key differences from those strategies. In particular, I have suggested that the pursuit of a language-led curriculum led to increased restrictions on permitted classroom discourse and to an over-emphasis on vocabulary and on linguistic structures in themselves rather than as a means of perpetuating cognitive-linguistic development.

The philosophy underpinning such pedagogy has already been described (cf. Chapter Four, above) in terms of the Centre's stated intention to pursue a particular model of "language-in-context" which incorporated the effective denial of pupils' first languages in the classroom, proposed a 'split' between cognition and language, and talked of two different kinds of language: the 'academic' and the 'everyday'. What, however, was the theoretical impetus behind such a philosophy? And were the Kursal Lane teachers unique in their pursuit of it?

The answer to these questions will initially be approached, in the following chapter, through a further consideration of the work of the linguist James Cummins with which teachers at the Centre were, as we shall see, very familiar. That chapter will examine, in particular, Cummins' own suggestion that there are two types of linguistic skills that are context-dependent, as well as his theory of Common Underlying Proficiency and language transference (cf. 1.5 above), which suggests that, contrary to the Kursal Lane model, bilingual pupils need to be encouraged to make use of existing language skills while simultaneously developing second-language skills, and that part of their early curricular instruction should take place through their strongest language.

These theoretical underpinnings will not only help to explain much of what has already been described in the Kursal Lane classroom: they will also - particularly in the case of the theory of Common Underlying Proficiency - serve to introduce ideas that will be of crucial importance when we come to analyse classroom practice at the second institution described in the project, Company Road Secondary school. At this institution, as at Kursal Lane, Cummins' theories were widely known; and, as at Kursal Lane, those theories were, I shall argue, often developed in the support of unsuccessful or unhelpful pedagogies.

CHAPTER SEVEN: KURSAL LANE LANGUAGE CENTRE: 'BICS', 'CALP'
AND LINGUISTIC TRANSFERENCE

7.1 Introduction: Kursal Lane and the Work of James Cummins

The work of James Cummins, referred to previously in this thesis (see, for example, Chapters 1 and 4), was familiar to a number of teachers at the Kursal Lane Centre, and his theories had, indeed, formed the basis of at least one staff meeting at which Mr Parsons had provided the major input. All of the Centre's teachers expressed, in interview, some knowledge of - and unqualified support for - Cummins' work, and were particularly positive about his notion of there being two kinds of language, 'BICS' and 'CALP' (explained in 7.2 below).

What is curious, however, is that in spite of this familiarity with - and support for - Cummins' work, there appeared to be striking contradictions between elements of his theory and elements of these teachers' practice. How could this be?

In order to answer that question, it is first necessary to elaborate the principal theory with which staff at the Centre were familiar. In so doing, I want to argue (i) that staff at the Centre (as with many teachers at the other

institution studied, Company Road) had acquainted themselves with this theory in insufficient detail; (ii) that they had acquainted themselves with only one aspect of a much wider theory, taking that aspect out of the context which gives it its proper meaning; (iii) that aspects of this theory are not themselves without problems.

7.2 Cummins' 'BICS'-'CALP' Dichotomy

"Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills" ('BICS') are defined by Cummins (1979b, 1984) in terms of "the manifestation of language proficiency in everyday communicative contexts." "Cognitive-Academic Language Proficiency" ('CALP'), on the other hand, is conceptualised in terms of "the manipulation of language in decontextualised academic situations". That is to say, these terms propose an essential difference between language which is used, as it were, unconsciously or unreflectingly (the language of everyday social interaction; such as 'playground talk'), and language about which one has to think (the language of learning: see also Vygotsky's notion of 'deliberation', 1962 pp. 100, 105 and Walkerdine, 1982, on the development of formal reasoning)¹. Assessed on the basis of 'everyday' language, some bilingual pupils, Cummins argues, may be deemed to have reached relatively high levels of proficiency in their second language: that is to say, they converse quite fluently with monolingual peers in

social or 'non-academic' situations and discourses. Assessed on the basis of 'academic' language, however - that is to say, in the context of academic tasks - those same pupils' second-language proficiency, often confused with their general cognitive proficiency, may be found seriously wanting.

One obvious advantage of such a distinction, and one which has clear appeal to educationalists wanting to combat racism, is that it potentially shifts judgements of bilingual pupils' perceived academic failures in schools away from "inherent" cognitive deficiencies, over which schools may claim to have no significant influence, towards linguistic problems for which the institution itself must clearly accept some measure of responsibility. When bilingual pupils given IQ tests through the medium of their second language do badly, argues Cummins (1984, pp. 130 - 131), too often cognitive reasons - for example, learning disability or retardation - are given for their poor performance, on the grounds, based on previous assessments of L2 proficiency in face-to-face 'social' situations, that they have already achieved levels of language proficiency sufficient to be able to cope with the tests on a purely linguistic level (see also Gonzalez 1993).

Changing the situation slightly, to make it more appropriate to the English school system in which IQ tests are rarely

given, we might clarify this point with reference to the following hypothetical argument:

I know from watching Pupil A chatting in English that she is L2 proficient: so when she did badly in the Science test it was certainly not attributable to any linguistic deficiency. Pupil A is clearly academically deficient.

Similar explanations, says Cummins, are regularly given when "minority language" students classified as L2-proficient transfer from bilingual to monolingual classrooms and are seen to fall progressively further behind 'grade norms' in the development of L2 academic skills. Here, teachers in the monolingual classrooms receive similar positive impressions of bilingual pupils' all-round linguistic proficiency and again attribute classroom failure to non-linguistic deficiencies. To adapt the previous argument, we could posit the following hypothetical position:

I know from the bilingual teachers' reports that Pupil A is L2 proficient [what I do not know is that these reports are based on the pupil's performance in "everyday communicative contexts"]: so now that she is failing to make progress in the monolingual classroom this cannot be

'attributable' to any linguistic deficiency. Clearly Pupil A is academically deficient.

Against this, Cummins' arguments suggest that initial assessments of Pupil A's linguistic proficiency may have been faulty because they failed to recognise that there are different kinds of proficiency required for different situations: that is to say, they only described linguistic competence in one set of circumstances (BICS), and not in another (CALP). Not even the most impressive linguistic performance in the area of BICS should therefore lead the teacher to expect high academic performance: for that to occur, pupils need to be equally impressive in the area of CALP, and CALP skills need to be developed in addition to BICS. Pupils undertaking academic tasks through the medium of a second language, where meaning has to be understood and communicated often exclusively through the language itself - most often, through written forms - may encounter numerous linguistic problems that are not at all apparent in observations of their day-to-day conversational skills, where they can make use of a variety of verbal, visual and situational clues pertaining to the specific and general contexts in which they are operating.

What, though, are the essential differences between BICS and CALP, and how are they related to cognitive-academic development?

7.3 Essential Differences Between BICS and CALP: Embedded and Disembedded Thought

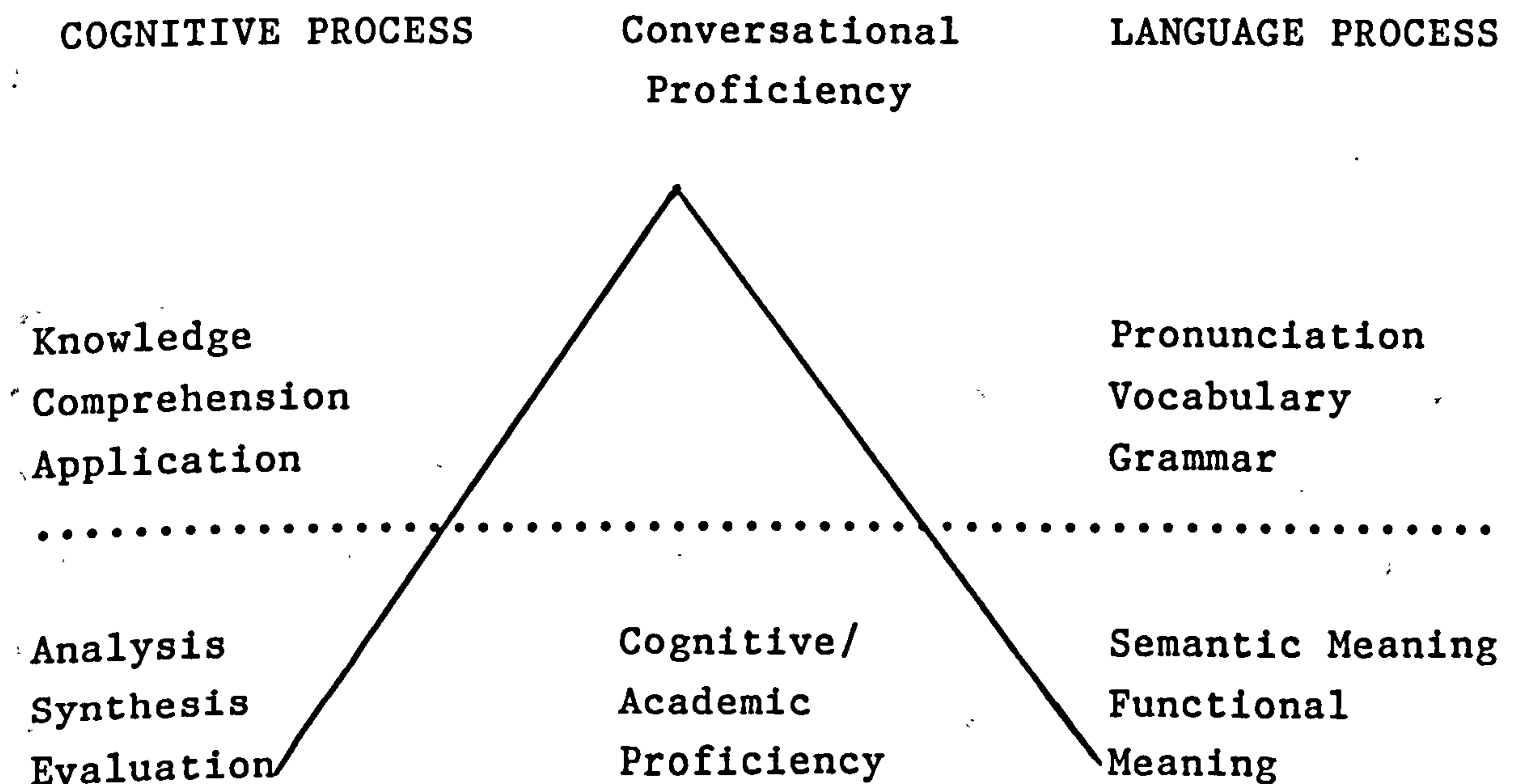
Cummins illustrates the cognitive-linguistic underpinning of his BICS-CALP differentiation (Figure 14) through a modified version of the "iceberg" metaphor used by Roger Shuy (1978; 1981), to highlight the distinction between, as Cummins puts it, "the 'visible', quantifiable, formal aspects of language" (such as grammar, pronunciation and basic vocabulary), and the "less visible and less easily measured aspects dealing with semantic and functional meaning" (Cummins 1984, pp. 136-37: see also Loveday 1982). These more and less visible aspects of language may, Cummins suggests, be elaborated in terms of Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives (Bloom and Krathwohl 1977), where

the surface level would involve Knowledge (remembering something previously encountered or learned), Comprehension (grasp of basic meaning, without necessarily relating it to other material), and Application (use of abstractions in particular and concrete situations), while the deeper levels of cognitive/academic processing would involve Analysis (breaking down a whole into its parts so that the organisation of elements is clear), Synthesis (putting elements into a coherent whole), and Evaluation (judging

the adequacy of ideas or material for a given purpose).
(Cummins 1984, p. 137).

To put it another way, Cummins seeks to establish a relationship between language and thought, in which abstract or "disembedded" academic tasks and processes can only be carried out through the medium of language skills of a different - and indeed a higher - order than those used in everyday conversational situations or in school tasks that are, by contrast, of an essentially practical or "embedded" nature (including most oral assignments).

Figure 14: Surface and Deeper Levels of Language Proficiency



(Taken from Cummins 1984, p. 138)

One implication of Cummins' hypothesis is that true concept development, as opposed to the mere memorising of words - that is to say, to use de Saussure's (1983) and Barthes' (1973) terminology, the acquisition of 'signifieds' as opposed to 'signifiers' - can only take place through language that has developed, often imperceptibly on the surface, beyond that needed for day-to-day socialising or relatively elementary learning: in short, either through the pupil's first language or through a second language whose proficiency embraces a special, 'advanced' kind of language, and which must consequently be assessed in ways that go much further than considerations of how well the bilingual learner performs in face-to-face social and academic situations. Failure to recognise this, argues Cummins (1984, p. 138), "can have particularly unfortunate consequences for minority students."

The model proposed by Cummins suggests that "language proficiency" needs to be conceptualised along two continua (Figure 15). The first of these, whose extremes are described in terms of "context-embedded" versus "context-reduced", relates to "the range of support available for expressing or receiving meaning", the extremes being distinguished by the fact that

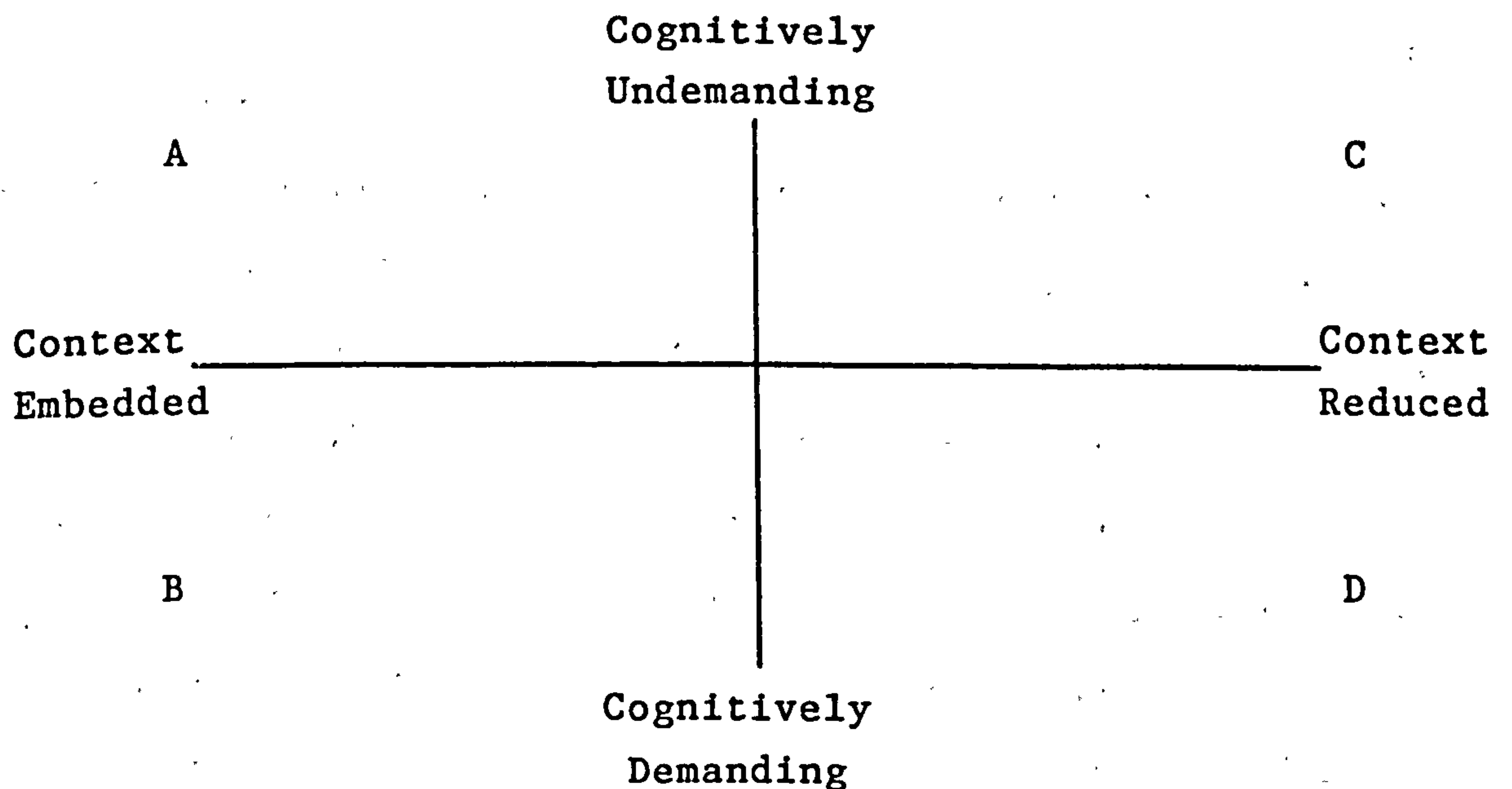
in context-embedded communication the participants can actively negotiate meaning (eg. by providing feedback

that the message has not been understood) and the language is supported by a wide range of meaningful paralinguistic and situational cues.

(Cummins 1984, p. 138. See also Donaldson 1978 on 'embedded' and 'disembedded' learning.)

Context-reduced communication, on the other hand, relies primarily on linguistic cues to meaning, and thus successful interpretation of the message depends heavily on knowledge of the language itself².

Figure 15: Range of Contextual Support and Degree of Cognitive Involvement in Communicative Activities



(Taken from Cummins 1984, p. 139)

Context-embedded communication, argues Cummins, is "more typical of the everyday world outside the classroom", while context-reduced communication is required "for many of the linguistic demands of the classroom, such as manipulating text": these differing applications are positioned along the second continuum, whose extremes are described as "cognitively undemanding" and "cognitively demanding".

To refer more closely to Cummins' conceptualisation, the extremes of the latter continuum represent, respectively, (a) communicative tasks and activities in which language is used as it were unconsciously, that is to say in which "the linguistic tools have become largely automatized (...) and thus require little active cognitive involvement for appropriate performance" (1984, p.139), and (b) communicative tasks and activities in which language must be used deliberately and reflectingly, requiring "active cognitive involvement" (ibid.). Making specific applications of the conceptualisation, which owes much in content and expression to the work of L.S. Vygotsky³, we could say that to argue a point of view with another individual would be an example of "quadrant B skills": that is to say, there is immediately available feedback because of the face-to-face nature of the situation, in addition to an active striving on the part of the arguer to find a "right" way of saying things when other ways may have been perceived, through the feedback, to have worked less

well. Writing an essay, on the other hand, would probably be an example of the kind of task located in quadrant D. Here, language must again be used in a conscious, reflexive way, so that the task can be said to be as cognitively-demanding as the oral arguing of a case, but, in addition, the communicator must this time rely on knowledge of "the language itself" - ie. its words and structures - in order to make meaning clear to what is now an absent or unseen receiver of communication, in a scenario in which situational and paralinguistic cues are missing.

It is clear that "Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills" (BICS) would tend to be located, in the Cummins conceptualisation, in quadrant A, whereas tasks demanding Cognitive-Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) would find themselves in quadrant D. As we have seen, however, there is some "overlapping" of BICS and CALP in quadrant B - for example, the oral arguing of a case - and the same overlapping would also occur in quadrant C, where we might expect to find such activities as the writing of an informal letter as a piece of homework. As we shall see (eg. DIALOGUE 17), when we are looking at an activity that can be described in terms of its location within these two quadrants (B and C), the separation of BICS and CALP becomes far more problematic than with, say, conversational skills (located in quadrant A) or with the completion of written tests (located in quadrant D).

7.4 Some Difficulties of the BICS-CALP Hypothesis

In practice, of course, in most areas of their school work students - whether bilingual or monolingual - will be calling upon their BICS just as much as they will need to call upon their CALP: nor is this simply a matter of recognising the need - important though it is - for bilingual pupils to "develop the full range of language use of their peers, from the informal codes of playground speech to the formal codes of the written examination paper" (Wiles 1985a, p.20). The point is that bilingual pupils, just as monolingual pupils, will use - and should feel happy to use - a range of codes within academic situations themselves. In the carrying out and subsequent writing up of scientific experiments, for example, pupils will, during the experimentation phase, find themselves actively engaging in discussion of the experiment using "everyday" language of the kind one would expect to overhear in the playground, into which specialist linguistic formats, for example the use of passives, will be introduced. In this situation, physical evidence of the experiment will probably be before the students as they talk. During the period of writing up, however, the linguistic emphasis will have shifted: the same students, finding themselves "alone" with language in a way they were not while the experiments were being conducted, will now be placed in a situation where they will have to think quite deliberately not only about the matter but also

about the manner of what they are writing, quite often with the evidence of the experiment spatially and temporally removed⁴. Through these mixed BICS-CALP-related activities, concepts will - or will not - be formed and developed.

Clearly, the differentiation of "everyday" from "academic" language is a more complex one than the terminology might suggest. Cummins himself has recognised this in his assertion that "any dichotomy oversimplifies the reality", and that the terms BICS and CALP clearly have "the potential to be misinterpreted" (Cummins 1984, p. 138).

References to "social" and "academic" language at Kursal Lane offer some indication as to what form this 'misinterpretation- through-oversimplification' might take. At this institution, "social" language was variously described to me in interview as "everyday language" (Mr Parsons), "playground talk" (Head of Centre) and "classroom chatter" (Mrs Singh). It was usually applied to oral language, and almost always to language in informal situations. "Academic" language, on the other hand, was normally spoken about with reference to written language in formal settings, comprising essentially the absorption and usage of specialist vocabulary, style and forms of presentation of knowledge and thought. Whereas "social" language was thought to be "picked up naturally" (Head of Centre), through "a process of osmosis" (Mrs Singh),

"academic" language had to be "actively taught" (Mr Parsons). (It is not difficult to find the roots of this oversimplification of the BICS-CALP hypothesis in Cummins' own contrast, quoted above, between "the manifestation of language proficiency in everyday communicative contexts" and "the manipulation of language in decontextualised academic situations". The specific contrast here between "manifestation" and "manipulation" is particularly illuminating, appearing at first glance to support the argument that "social" language is "picked up naturally" - ie. just happens - whereas "academic" language needs to be deliberately learned.)

Based on teachers' remarks at Kursal Lane and on the lessons observed and described in Chapters Five and Six, we could say that the most likely oversimplifications of the BICS-CALP dichotomy are:

- (i) that BICS and CALP are perceived as always separate - with the corollaries that language is sometimes social and sometimes not, and that "everyday language" plays no great part in concept development;
- (ii) that the terms are used to describe language varieties rather than thought-language relationships;

(iii) that BICS is seen as somehow easier in developmental terms (implied in the word 'basic') than CALP - a view which finds its contradiction in the work of Labov (1970), who has demonstrated that the 'non-standard' English used in day-to-day social communication (we might say, BICS) among black working-class American youngsters is as complex, expressive and rule-governed as so-called Standard English, which comes closest to the academic English demanded in formal learning situations. Labov argues that it is not that their vernacular is inadequate or inferior that leads these youngsters to perform badly in school: rather, it is that they have not acquired sufficient expertise in those alternative speech styles and genres that are shaped and demanded by the etiquette and interests of the dominant social classes. (See also Kress 1982 on linguistic "etiquette", Bourdieu & Passeron 1977 on the notion of "cultural capital", and Stubbs 1976 p.73, who reminds us that high-status information manuals have been successfully published in creoles.)

The kind of difficulty thrown up by such oversimplifications is illustrated by the following piece of dialogue involving monolingual Anglophone students in their second year at one of the institutions under study, Company Road. These students were engaged in a series of

experiments on reactivity, of a kind already described in the Kursal Lane classroom: that is to say, testing and recording the reactions of various substances such as zinc, copper and sodium in water and in acid. The students were working in groups of three, observing the experiments being carried out by their teachers and recording them as they went along:

DIALOGUE 17

ANDREW: It's all smoking. Look!

BRIAN: Smoking... yeah... so... What? Let's put it down... Where?... Vapour, innit?

CHRIS: 'Vapour'! Andrew, you ****: put down 'It caught fire'.

BRIAN: Caught fire... It never -

ANDREW: There's no flames.

BRIAN: Vapour. (Writing) Vapour - was - produced.

CHRIS: (Mocking, sing-song) Just because he's recording!

BRIAN: Shut up, you ****. What's the next one?
(Reading) 'Did it change colour?'

ANDREW: Why not 'smoking'?

BRIAN: Because it ain't smoke, is it? (Quietly) You
get smoke from burning... With fire... You see
any flames, can you?

CHRIS: No smoke without fire!

BRIAN: It'd make more sense to say 'Why not steam?'

CHRIS: All right. Why?... Why not steam?

BRIAN: Because... (Breaks into self-conscious laugh,
looking at researcher's recorder.)

CHRIS: Yes, Brian? We're all waiting.

ANDREW: Ask him. (ie. the researcher)

CHRIS: (To the researcher) Do you know?

AM: Well, steam is a form of water. Erm... Water
sort of turns into it when it reaches a certain

temperature. It changes from, er, liquid form to sort of gas form. Vapour...

CHRIS: It's from... No... It's like steam, but from other whatsits...

BRIAN: Substances.

CHRIS: All right, flash-man.

AM: Yes.

ANDREW: So... What?... That smoke... er, vapour... that's the same as that stuff... er... So-...

AM: Sodium.

ANDREW: Yeah, right... Only in, er, what was it?

AM: Sort of gas form, only -

ANDREW: Gas form, yeah.

AM: - it isn't... Well, maybe. I don't know, actually. I mean, er, it could just be steam: like the Sodium had somehow turned the water into steam.

This dialogue is clearly both context-embedded and cognitively demanding: the sort of activity that would be located in quadrant B of Cummins' conceptualisation. It is also clear that the three pupils participating in the dialogue are using a language essentially no different from the one they would normally use in the playground. In the course of their discussion they swear, they argue, they banter, they tease and they use colloquial structures and phrases. At the same time, however, through that language, they develop concepts - for instance the vapour-steam-smoke differentiation - and practise some of the academic forms and terminology they will need in order to talk and write about those concepts in formal settings: for example, the use of "substance" and of the expression "vapour was produced". This is not to say that Cummins' BICS-CALP distinction is not a valid one: rather, that his advice on how the distinction should be viewed needs to be given very serious attention, and that teachers using the theory to inform their practice should not lose sight of the suggestions that (a) learning is essentially a social activity, (b) there is an indivisible and complex interrelationship between language and thought, (c) language used in 'recreational' activities may not always differ fundamentally from language used in learning activities.

Teachers who do lose sight of these suggestions may well find themselves in pursuit of an unhelpful extension of the

social-academic language split which Cummins' basic hypothesis proposes. It has already been suggested in this chapter (7.2) that the BICS-CALP distinction may have helped prevent bilingual pupils being dismissed as cognitively deficient as a result of poor performance in formal tests. There is a problem with this, however, in that, because of its developmental 'spine' - that is to say, the persistent notion that BICS 'precedes' or is easier than CALP - exactly the same sort of incorrect diagnosis might be made from the perspective of the BICS-CALP hypothesis. For instance, if 'academic' language is perceived by teachers as harder or more advanced than 'social' language, the danger is that they will continue to dismiss many bilingual pupils as backward on the grounds that they have reached a language threshold beyond which, for intrinsic, cognitive reasons, they are unable to proceed further: that is to say, they have been 'bright' enough to gain expertise in the simpler, social forms of a new language but not bright enough to graduate to its more complex forms. In short, one falsely-perceived manifestation of stupidity (performance in tests) may merely be replaced by another (inability to learn more complex forms of language). Further encouraged by a separation of language from context, teachers who follow such a road may be all too willing to attribute poor academic-linguistic performance to pupil deficiencies rather than to their own pedagogies and diagnoses or to those of the institutions in which they work. For their part, there

is clearly a danger that bilingual pupils on the receiving end of such perceptions may come to despise their linguistic 'inadequacies' and to develop what Trudgill and others (cf. Trudgill 1983 p.209) have called "linguistic self-hatred".

Such dangers arise fundamentally from the kinds of linguistic differentiation that teachers choose to make. Thus, from a perspective which is still - at this stage of the theory - able to separate out language from context and to see each in terms of its relations with the other, Cummins is able to suggest the differentiation of two kinds of language per se: that is, language which is used unconsciously, usually spoken, typically in informal situations, and language about which one has to think, usually written, typically in formal situations. From a different perspective, Walkerdine, however, is able to propose the differentiation of two kinds of language-in-use, which are also two kinds of performance and two kinds of thinking: that which entails an understanding - often unconscious - of what is and is not permissible within a given discourse, and that which entails deliberate reflection of a discourse's internal relations of combination (see also Vygotsky 1962). Similarly, Bakhtin, who has written at length on speech genres (see, for example, Bakhtin 1986), differentiates between several kinds of utterance: that is to say, acts of language-in-context,

where the term can refer to either written or spoken acts. (See also Austin 1962 and Stubbs 1983.)

Walkerdine and Bakhtin do not necessarily pursue the same lines of argument as one another. The point is, however, that each of them rejects a separation of language from context, preferring to see language and context as inseparable aspects of culture-specific discursive practices. It is conscious reflection on those practices and their uses, leading to 'deliberated' expertise, that is necessary for academic - and indeed social - 'success'.

Such a refusal to differentiate between kinds of language identified according to the context within which they are perceived to be located (straightforward playground talk; complex academic language) is important, since it points the way towards more effective diagnoses of bilingual pupils' school performance and, consequently, to more effective pedagogies. This is partly a matter of perception: that is to say, 'language' can be perceived all too easily as 'belonging' to an individual, in a way that 'discourse' never can, since discourse involves from the outset both learner and teacher as participants with joint responsibility for a successful outcome (see, too, Woods 1992, quoted in 3.2 above). It could be argued that only by seeing issues of pupil performance as issues of discourse-and-culture will educators assume adequate responsibility

for such performance rather than attributing 'poor' performance to cognitive-linguistic causes residing within the learner. This may include the recognition that academic discourses are 'harder' than other discourses only by virtue of the fact that their participants are likely to have had less experience of them, may have been inadequately initiated into them, or may find them at odds with previously learned academic discourses (a situation particularly likely to occur, as we shall see in Part Three, where bilingual pupils are involved).

7.5 Further Thoughts on the BICS-CALP Dichotomy: A Vygotskian Perspective

To underline some of the points made so far in this chapter, let us consider in a little more detail the work of L.S. Vygotsky, and in particular his model of the interrelation between language and thought in educational settings: that is to say, specifically the relationship between development and instruction (Vygotsky 1962 and 1978).

Vygotsky argues an interrelation between thought and language of a kind not dissimilar to that argued by Cummins himself in an earlier paper (Cummins 1979a, pp. 226-27). Relating language development to cognitive development and specifically to the acquisition and development of concepts, Vygotsky suggests that learning does - and therefore

instruction should - "march ahead of development": that is to say, school teaching should not simply be a matter of waiting, opportunistically, for the right time to feed in appropriate knowledge and skills; it actually influences - and should be allowed to influence - the course of a child's development. How it does this is by awakening in the pupil a "variety of internal developmental processes that are able to operate only when the child is interacting with people in [his or her] environment and in cooperation with [his or her] peers" (1978 p. 90, my emphasis). In pedagogical terms, this means that teacher-pupil instruction should always be accompanied by teacher-pupil dialogue and by in-class discussion between pupil and pupil. In this essentially social situation, the internal, invisible "developmental processes" set in motion by instruction are able to grow and blossom until the pupil comes to possess them. When this happens, the processes are "internalised" and "become part of the child's independent developmental achievement" (ibid.): that is to say, an autonomy is achieved whereby the pupil can bring acquired and developed mental functions to bear on the consideration and solution of problems and tasks encountered outside the classroom, without physical recourse to teachers or other human assistants.

This model of Vygotsky's is, as I have suggested, by no means at odds with that of Cummins. However, by emphasising

cognitive-social aspects of language use, it reminds us that, although children need to acquire certain specialist "academic" ways of thinking and using language, interpersonal communication skills (ICS rather than BICS) are as essential in the classroom as they are out of it. In particular, Vygotsky's model suggests a certain style of pedagogy. This style would include:

1. Not waiting to teach something until the child is deemed able to absorb it: instruction, says Vygotsky, should be aimed "not so much at the ripe as at the ripening functions" (1962, p.104).
2. Striving for a teacher-pupil relationship that invites and encourages dialogue.
3. Organising the classroom in a way which enables and encourages collaborative learning and the facility to switch easily between discussion with peers and discussion with the teacher.
4. Recognising that children's learning is an active - and interactive - process, and that concepts are, by their nature, changing, developing things.
5. Recognising the heuristic value of talking and writing.

That certain educational philosophies lead to certain pedagogical practices is as important to keep in mind as that certain classroom and curricular organisational preferences suggest those philosophies and practices. One would expect a classroom designed according to the Vygotskian model of development to be one in which ideas could be freely exchanged through both written and spoken language: or rather, through both written and spoken languages, for children in such a classroom who were still in the early stages of learning the main language of instruction would be encouraged to communicate, with peers and with teachers, both through that main language of instruction and, where more than one speaker of a "minority" language was present, through that other, stronger language in order that concepts might be properly formed and developed. Talking would be seen as vital to the process of concept development, and would be elevated to a correspondingly high status.

It is precisely at this point that criticism of the BICS-CALP dichotomy meets its partial answer. At the same time, it does so in a way that illuminates the 'oversimplification' problem and draws us back to the language-in-context model operated at Kursal Lane.

7.6 Cummins, Vygotsky and the Kursal Lane Model of Language-in-Context: First-Language Perspectives and the Notion of Linguistic Transference

If we look back to the five stylistic characteristics of the Vygotskyan classroom proposed above, it becomes immediately clear that there is a mismatch between each of these and the philosophy within which Kursal Lane Language Centre's pedagogical approach was sited. That is to say, the Centre's philosophy was in favour of a 'learning readiness' model (in opposition to characteristic 1), which prioritised teacher instruction and carefully controlled linguistic-cognitive inputs, and it discouraged pupil-pupil or teacher-pupil dialogue (in opposition to characteristics 2-5).

The same mismatch does not, however, occur between Vygotskyan theory and the Cummins BICS-CALP hypothesis. Cummins' hypothesis may seek to separate one kind of language - social - from another - academic; however, it specifically does not argue against classroom dialogue in a full range of registers, nor does it promote the 'learning readiness' model of teacher-pupil interaction⁵. Furthermore, it does not seek to promote a linear model of concept development for older bilingual pupils based on models drawn from developmental observations of much younger monolingual pupils (for example, the model of concept

development promoted by L.S.Vygotsky 1962 & 1978, described in more detail in Chapter Four above).

Specifically, Cummins' theory does not recommend the teaching of L2 signifiers for everyday concepts as the basis for future development - through L2 - of more complex concepts. That particular model, operated by teachers at Kursal Lane, leaves unresolved the critical question: How exactly is this move to more complex conceptual development to be achieved? The assumption at Kursal Lane seemed to be that, as a result of the grafting on of L2 signifiers to existing everyday concepts, a certain level of linguistic competence would be reached automatically, and, through that greater linguistic competence, the more complex cognitive development would be able to take place (cf. Mrs Singh, quoted in Chapter Six above). It is precisely this problem that the BICS-CALP hypothesis seeks to address by positing two separate kinds of L2 language development appropriate to two separate kinds of concept development. It also brings us back to Cummins' initial concerns about the way bilingual pupils are assessed.

The real reason that Cummins' model is able to co-exist with the Vygotskian model, however, and that Kursal Lane's model is unable to co-exist with either, lies in our earlier projection that in the Vygotskian model "children... who were still in the early stages of learning the main language

of instruction would be encouraged to communicate with peers and teachers both through that main language of instruction and... through that other, stronger language in order that concepts might be properly formed and developed": that is to say, it lies in Cummins' theory of first-language (L1) development, and of how that first-language development relates to second-language (L2) development.

It is precisely this perspective that is missing from the Kursal Lane model: this model has plenty to say about L2 but nothing at all to say about L1, other than that there is no important place for it in the classroom: like BICS, it is confined to the playground. Because it is less interested in first language teaching and development, it gives no attention to the wider context for the BICS-CALP hypothesis, which is to do with L1 development and which focusses specifically on the notion of 'language transference': that is to say, the argument that, to a certain extent, skills and knowledge learned in one language are 'transferable' to another. We could argue that it is in this failure to address Cummins' theory in full that the Kursal Lane simplification of the BICS-CALP theory finds its roots and that simultaneously brings it into opposition both with Vygotskian theory and with other aspects of Cummins' theory - most importantly, theory related to the value of first-language development in academic situations.

7.7 Common Underlying Proficiency

The importance of the notion of 'language transference' in relation to this thesis cannot be overestimated, not only with reference to pedagogy and attitudes at Kursal Lane but also with reference to the case-studies carried out at the second institution, Company Road. If the teachers at Kursal Lane rejected the notion of transference, the ESL teachers at Company Road certainly supported it and, in particular, the notion of Common Underlying Proficiency already referred to in Chapters 1 and 3 above. Ironically, however, as we shall see in Part Three of the thesis, this acceptance of language transference at Company Road sometimes contributed to exactly the same kind of misdiagnosis condemned by Cummins in the development of his BICS-CALP hypothesis. With reference to Company Road, I shall argue that this was precisely because the notion of language transference adopted by Company Road teachers was, like the BICS-CALP theory adopted by teachers at Kursal Lane, incomplete in its conceptualisation. Specifically, it ignored the possibility that while some aspects of languages may indeed be 'transferable' others may not. (This consideration will take us into the area of the culture-specific features of language and other representational systems - specifically, Art - and into further considerations of the notion of cultural mismatch introduced in Chapter Three above. For further work in this area, see Gonzalez 1993, who suggests

that bilingual pupils construct two representational systems: one that is 'universal' and another for symbolic and verbal conceptual categories that are unique to a particular language and culture).

Cummins' notion of 'language transference' finds its expression in a "Common Underlying Proficiency" (CUP) model of first- and second-language that stands in direct opposition to the 'Separate Underlying Proficiency' (SUP) model favoured by some other linguists.

This SUP model argues that

human beings have a certain potential, or perhaps neural and physiological capacity, for language learning. If an individual learns more than one language, knowing one language restricts the possibilities for learning other languages. More proficiency in one language implies fewer skills in the other ones.

(Appel & Muysken 1987, p. 104)

In the SUP model of language development, skills - particularly language skills - learned in one language are considered to be not readily transferable to another, and consequently there may be little point in developing them if this takes up time and 'mental space' that would be better

devoted to developing second-language skills and to learning concepts through those skills (in line, we could argue, with the Kursal Lane philosophy of language-in-context).

In opposition to this view, Cummins posits the "developmental interdependence hypothesis", which states that

there is an interaction between the language of instruction and the type of competence the child has developed in [her or his] L1 prior to school.

(Cummins 1979a p.233)

In an argument not dissimilar to Brice Heath's (1983) observations regarding the in- and out-school experiences of working-class black American children, Cummins suggests that bilingual children can reach high levels of competence in L2 if their L1 development, especially the use of linguistic functions relevant to school and the development of vocabulary and concepts, is strongly promoted outside school. A high level of proficiency in L1 makes possible a similarly high level of proficiency in L2. On the other hand,

for children whose L1 skills are less well developed in certain respects, intensive exposure to L2 in the initial

grades is likely to impede the continued development of L1. This will, in turn, exert a limiting effect on the development of L2.

(1979a p.233)

That is to say - in direct opposition to the very notion of the off-site language centre with its L2 immersion programme - intensive ESL work in the area of 'CALP' can actually hinder a bilingual pupil's L2 development as well as slowing down their cognitive development⁶. In Cummins' view, it is more important that 'CALP', in the early stages of bilingual development, is promoted in and through the pupil's first language.

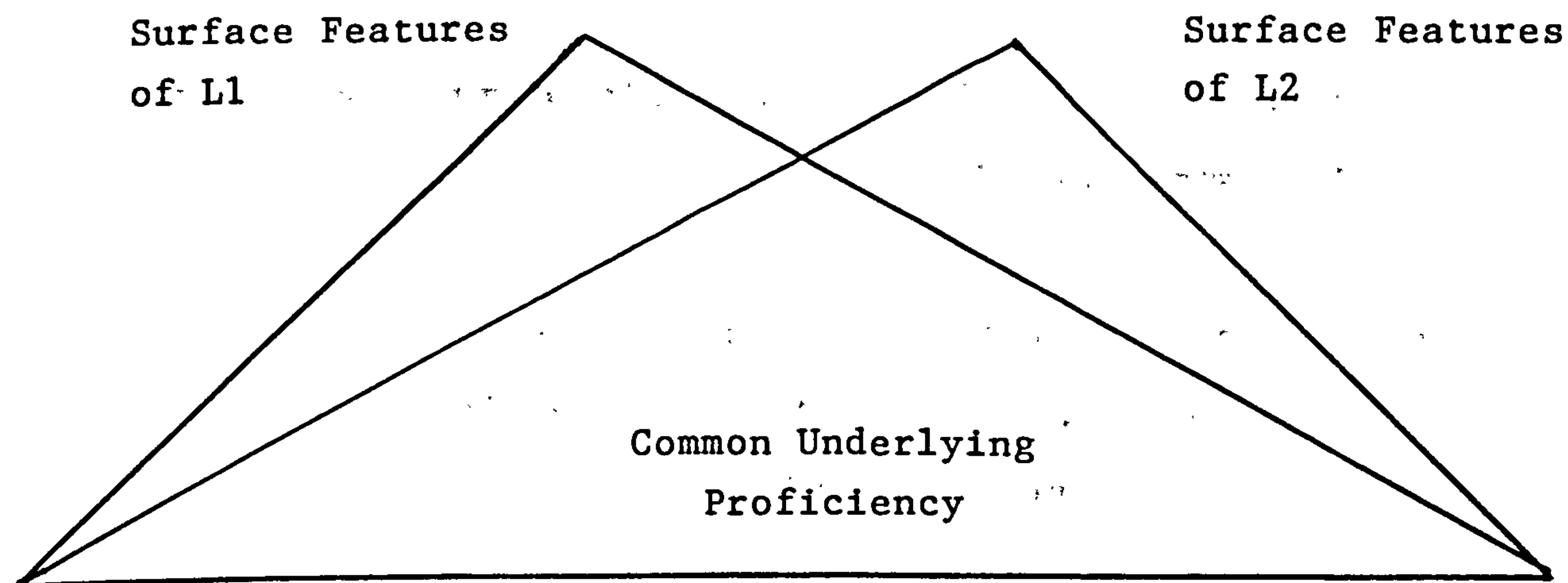
This line of argument leads Cummins to propose the radical hypothesis that academic language skills such as reading and writing skills learned in one language can subsequently be "transferred" to another, in the same way that concepts developed in one language can subsequently be expressed and further developed in another - with the one very important proviso that there is adequate exposure to the second language and adequate motivation to learn it. (This is described by Cummins as the 'interdependence principle'.)

Cummins develops this particular strand of his theory in Chapter Six of his book "Bilingualism and Special Education:

Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy" (1984). Using a further variation of Shuy's iceberg metaphor (Figure 16), he demonstrates how two languages - for example, English and Chinese - may appear very different on the surface, but how beneath that surface they possess and demand the same basic requirements - for example, the ability to decode and interpret print, to argue a case, to tell a story, to interpret and respond to speech, to understand the differences between spoken and written language, and so on.

The most obvious example of literacy-related skills involved in Common Underlying Proficiency, argues Cummins, is conceptual knowledge. To illustrate this point he refers to the migrant child arriving in North America aged fifteen, who has an understanding of the concept "honesty" in his own first language and needs only acquire a new label for it: the signifier "honesty". This child is contrasted with perhaps-younger children who arrive in the same country with no properly developed concept of "honesty" and may have to acquire that concept through a second, initially weaker language. A clear implication, again, is that concepts can only be properly acquired once a certain level and kind of language proficiency has been reached, and that for pupils weak in the language of instruction but strong in another language at least some early learning and instruction should be carried out in that other language.

Figure 13: The "Dual Iceberg" Representation of Bilingual Proficiency



(Taken from Cummins 1984, p.143)

Cummins is not, perhaps, quite so explicit; however, his concluding observations leave us in little doubt as to his position:

[W]e can predict that students instructed through a minority language for all or part of the school day will perform in majority language academic skills as well as or better than equivalent students instructed entirely through the majority language. For minority students academically at risk there is evidence that strong promotion of L1 proficiency represents an effective way

of developing a conceptual and academic foundation for acquiring English literacy.

(Cummins 1984 p.143)

7.8 Summary of Cummins' BICS-CALP Dichotomy with Reference to Corresponding Pedagogy

We are now in a position to summarise the whole of Cummins' BICS-CALP argument, along with some of its more obvious implications for curriculum and pedagogy:

1. Different kinds of language skills are required for cognitive/academic "disembedded" tasks than in "face-to-face" situations which reveal only the speaker's "surface fluency". A confusion of surface fluency with cognitive-academic language skills has led to many bilingual pupils' being dismissed as intellectually deficient.

(Particularly relevant to the assessment of bilingual pupils.)

2. When first learning a new language, or when learning through the medium of a new language, tasks should be as context-embedded as possible, gradually moving in the direction of the context-reduced as proficiency increases.

(Particularly relevant to second-language teaching and to subject-teachers working with monolingual and bilingual students in the same class.)

3. Underlying academic-linguistic skills (including those required for concept development) acquired in and through one language - ie. the student's stronger or "first" language - can be transferred to another language, ie. the pupil's initially weaker "second" language.

(Particularly relevant to curriculum planning with reference to bilingual students.)

4. In the initial stages, bilingual pupils should be educated partly through their stronger (first) language, and this should not just be language/culture maintenance but work that develops cognitive/linguistic skills and knowledge that can be "transferred" to the language of instruction as and when proficiency allows.

(Particularly relevant to the content of "mother-tongue" classes, where these exist.)

All of this is, I have suggested, very different from the simplified version of the BICS-CALP dichotomy referred to by teachers at the Kursal Lane Language Centre. In particular, it does not reduce BICS to mere chatter, nor CALP to the

mere grafting on of specialist vocabulary and conventions of presentation to a generally developing surface proficiency. It does not seek to separate out cognition from language, but rather to recognise and to evaluate the relationship between them. Finally, while arguing very forcefully that certain kinds of language are needed for certain kinds of academic tasks, it never suggests that pupils can be "given language" first, through which they can cope with cognitive demands later.

7.9 Conclusion and Introduction to Part Three

My argument in this chapter has been that the BICS-CALP differentiation is problematic, particularly when adopted by teachers in isolation from the other parts of Cummins' theory related to Common Underlying Proficiency. It will be the principal task of the next four chapters to explore how, even when the notion of Common Underlying Proficiency is supported by teachers, difficulties can still arise in the classroom, related to teachers' taking insufficient account of their bilingual pupils' existing linguistic, cognitive and creative skills. Suggestions will be made as to how such difficulties, which may adversely affect pupils' images of themselves, can be tackled through an extension of the concept of Common Underlying Proficiency and through a process of teachers' treating their bilingual pupils not merely as bilingual but as multicultured. Such treatment

includes the notion of extending bilingual pupils' affective-linguistic repertoires rather than treating their 'alternative' cultural products as simply incorrect.

PART 3: CASE STUDIES AT COMPANY ROAD SECONDARY SCHOOL

CHAPTER EIGHT: BILINGUAL PUPILS AT COMPANY ROAD SCHOOL:
DIVERGENT PHILOSOPHIES

8.1 Introduction

Reference has already been made in Part One Chapter Two to differences in philosophy and organisation related to bilingual pupils at Kursal Lane Language Centre and at Company Road Secondary School (see, for example, 2.3 Figure 1), and to the fact that whereas there was a commonality of views at Kursal Lane there was some disagreement at Company Road (see 4.2).

One major difference in terms of public philosophy between the two institutions - that is to say, between official statements of intention and approach represented in publicly available policy documents or through the spoken words of the Headteachers and their deputies - related to the underlying educational principles upon which pupils' learning was organised. At Kursal Lane, for example, teachers tended, as has been indicated, to perceive their classes in terms of relatively homogenous groups, expecting them to move forward together at a pace strictly regulated by the teacher according to notions of what the pupils would be able to cope with: that is to say, an approach underpinned by a 'learning readiness' model of teaching and learning (see, for example, Piaget 1926). At Company Road,

by contrast, where bilingual pupils spent a great deal of their time in mainstream classes being taught alongside monolingual peers in 'mixed-ability' groupings, more individual attention tended to be given to pupils, whether bilingual or monolingual, and the publicly perceived ethos of the school was that it was "child-centred"¹: that is to say, each pupil's individual cognitive-linguistic biography was used as the basis for determining what learning activities they might best be 'led into'. (This is the model that finds its elaboration in the work of L.S.Vygotsky 1962 & 1978. See, particularly, Vygotsky 1978 pp. 79-91).

In Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven I shall examine some of the interactions that took place between teachers and bilingual pupils in this apparently very different teaching/learning situation, and in so doing put forward the beginnings of an argument that schools might do well to extend or replace notions of bilingualism with a new notion of biculturalism², through a reappraisal of what language and culture actually are. At the same time, I want to ask questions about the nature and availability to pupils of a range of discourses in this alternative system (for example, How child-centred was the system, in terms of taking account of bilingual pupils' existing cultural preferences and expertise?) and about apparent contradictions between public philosophies and private practice.

Before focussing on actual classroom practice, however, it is necessary, as with the Kursal Lane studies, to say a little more about educational philosophy at Company Road. In doing this, I have chosen to focus on three key areas: (1) issues related to demography, intake and provision; (2) philosophical differences related to pluralism and underlying proficiency; (3) apparent mismatches between privately and publicly held views. I also want to set out some of the key questions that informed information-gathering at Company Road, both prior to the main sequence of visits and during the course of those visits.

8.2 Issues of Demography, Intake and Provision

Unlike Kursal Lane, which had been established to cater for a very specific pupil intake and was able to fashion its policies and pedagogies accordingly, Company Road attracted pupils from a great diversity of social, cultural and economic backgrounds: factors which could not help but impinge on matters of philosophy and teaching style. More than fifty different languages were spoken by pupils at the school, the most widespread being English, Sylheti³ and Arabic (see Figure 17). In addition to large numbers of Bangladeshi-born children, there were substantial numbers of children from Afro-Caribbean and North African backgrounds.

Figure 17: Language Inventory at Company Road at Time of Research Project

| Language | % Spoken as L1 | No. of Speakers |
|---|----------------|-----------------|
| English | 46.0 | 692 |
| Sylheti/Bengali | 26.3 | 393 |
| Arabic | 12.0 | 178 |
| Chinese | 7.0 | 105 |
| Other | 8.7 | 132 |
| (Excludes 6th-form. Where small fractions are involved, percentages have been rounded. English includes all dialects including Afro-Caribbean.) | | |

On arrival into the school, all bilingual pupils were, as at Kursal Lane, assessed according to their proficiency in spoken and written English. No formal tests were given, but assessment was based on interviews with parents and pupils and included reference to existing spoken and written skills in the pupils' first languages. All bilingual pupils, whatever the results of these assessments, would spend most of the school week in unsetting classes following the standard curriculum, taught in English, side by side with other bilingual and monolingual peers⁴. For a small number of these lessons, a specialist ESL teacher might be available to work in tandem with the subject specialist, but the onus remained on the subject teacher to adopt strategies

and design lesson plans appropriate to the full linguistic and experiential range in the classroom.

This system was a change from previous arrangements at the school, whereby more bilingual pupils were withdrawn for a much greater proportion of the time from mainstream classes. It was a change that had been initiated by the Head of the ESL Department with support from the Deputy Headteacher with responsibility for curriculum matters, and was the subject of intense debate and disagreement among members of staff, including members of the ESL Department.

It could be said that an essential similarity between the teaching of bilingual pupils at Kursal Lane and at Company Road was that in each case quite profound changes had been taking place (a move towards less withdrawal at Company Road, a move towards curriculum-based approaches at Kursal Lane), and that in each case these changes were related to the controversial issues of whether and how much such pupils should be taught separately from monolingual English-speaking peers. An essential and significant difference was that whereas Kursal Lane had been set up as a response to a perceived need predating and external to its existence, and consequently depended for its survival on that perception or that need remaining constant, the establishment and development of ESL teaching at Company Road was, rather, a pragmatic response to internal changes

related to its own intake. This demographic factor, as we shall see, contributed both to the changes in provision at Company Road and to divisions in philosophy both between teachers and within individual teachers' practice.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the proportion of bilingual pupils at Company Road had not been significantly greater than at a large number of other inner-city schools. Furthermore, large numbers of its bilingual intake had already possessed levels of competence in English that had taken them beyond or very nearly beyond the classification of 'Stage 1'. During the rest of the decade, however, a large settlement of Bangladeshi families had taken place within the school's catchment area. Most of the older children in these families, who had tended to have relatively little competence in written or spoken English, had come to Company Road. At the same time, the school's popularity had increased generally, and large numbers of shorter-stay bilingual pupils - for example, the children of embassy staff or business-people - had also swelled the school's roll. By 1987, when the research project began, the proportion of bilingual pupils at the school at all L2 'levels' was approximately 50 per cent (see Figure 18), with Bangladeshi pupils accounting for nearly 30 per cent of the year 7 intake.

Figure 18: Breakdown of Sylheti/Bengali-Speakers Per Year Group

| Year Group | Pupils as % | Pupils as No. |
|------------|-------------|---------------|
| Y7 | 29 (20) | 87 (60) |
| Y8 | 27 (17) | 81 (50) |
| Y9 | 27 (14) | 80 (43) |
| Y10 | 25 (8) | 76 (23) |
| Y11 | 23 (4) | 69 (13) |

Percentages are rounded. Figures in brackets indicate Stage 1 pupils, expressed in column two as a percentage of all pupils in the year-group.

As the numbers of bilingual pupils had grown, so the ESL department had grown in proportion, to seventeen full-time and three part-time members of staff - the largest single department in the school. Thus, a school whose curriculum and organisation had been designed with one intake in mind (an essentially monolingual, if socially mixed set of pupils) had found itself in a situation of continuous adjustment and reappraisal as that intake had changed. Not surprisingly, that situation of adjustment and reappraisal had resulted in high levels of internal debate and disagreement, in which different teachers with different perceptions had felt obliged to weigh the needs of its new intake against those of its existing intake⁵.

It could be said that at Kursal Lane, the other institution observed in the study, teachers were broadly united in their philosophy of what and how bilingual pupils should be taught: they had been recruited into a system that was already fixed, that represented the answer - provisional in retrospect but not seen so at the point of establishment - to a perceived need. They had specifically applied to work at this institution operating this system. To use Keddie's terms, there had been, from the outset, less likelihood of "teacher" and "educationist" perspectives being significantly different from one another or resulting in tensions (cf. Keddie 1971). By consequence, the only threat to Kursal Lane's stable philosophy could ever have come from 'outside' - in the form, for example, of local authority resistance.

At Company Road, as we shall see, a different situation existed. Teachers had not necessarily come to Company Road to teach bilingual pupils, or even, in many cases, prepared to teach bilingual pupils; nor did they generally appear to have arrived - with the exception of ESL specialists - with firm ideas about the relative merits of withdrawing such pupils or teaching them in mainstream classes. Their ideas on this subject had often, in the case of staff who had spent some time at the school and had witnessed the changes in intake referred to above, grown up out of the arrival of large numbers of bilingual pupils into their classrooms.

Some had come to view the presence of such pupils as a benefit, others as a challenge, and yet others as a problem. Those who had come to see it as a very serious problem had, not unexpectedly, been among the strongest advocates of the greater withdrawal of such pupils from mainstream classes.

8.3 The Philosophical Context: Pluralism and CUP

One of the interesting features of provision for bilingual pupils at Company Road relates to the manner in which bilingual pupils were withdrawn from certain lessons, for intensive language work and not from others.

To an extent, withdrawal at Company Road was determined by timetabling necessities. It was the school's practice, for example, for reasons of practicality⁶, to complete the whole-school timetable for each academic year in advance of the 'ESL' timetable, which was not normally fixed until well into the Autumn term. A further factor in selecting lessons from which to withdraw pupils related to the extent to which members of the ESL Department felt able to work with specific teachers and departments: put bluntly, pupils were unlikely to be withdrawn from lessons with teachers who enjoyed working closely with ESL teachers and who were happy to have such teachers working in the classroom along with them.

An additional and significant factor in targeting lessons related to philosophical notions of language and learning that were widely held throughout the school despite other areas of disagreement (elaborated below): in particular, the notion that, as far as possible, developing bilingual pupils should be withdrawn from academic subjects, which, as one ESL teacher put it, were generally perceived as being "language-heavy", rather than from practical subjects which were perceived as being "language-light".

"Language-heavy" subjects were subjects in which the bilingual pupil would, it was maintained, have the greatest difficulty in understanding what the teacher, text books and even other pupils were saying, and in which such a lack of understanding would seriously impede any constructive activity on the pupil's part: typically, subjects regarded by their teachers as having a broad 'knowledge base' such as Science, History, and even Languages and Mathematics. In "language-light" lessons, on the other hand, such as Art or PE (perceived by their teachers as essentially 'practical') or even English (perceived as essentially 'process based'), the pupil could, it was argued, achieve a reasonable grasp of what to do simply by observing other pupils and making use of existing skills. In such lessons, the pupil's output would often - with English as the most striking exception - be essentially 'non-linguistic' too: for example, painting a picture in Art using existing art skills, or completing an

assault-course in PE using existing physical skills⁷. One major function of the ESL teacher in this structure was similar to that of the teachers at Kursal Lane: that is to say, to introduce bilingual pupils to the specialist 'academic language' they would need for 'academic subjects' in small withdrawal groups, in order that they would eventually be able to make sense of what the teachers of those academic subjects were teaching. As has already been indicated, much of the teaching carried out at Company Road in withdrawal lessons was, for this reason, very similar in terms of content and pedagogy to that described at Kursal Lane⁸.

This strategy of specifically not withdrawing pupils from lessons in which, to quote one Science teacher, they could "carry on regardless" could be cited to suggest some form of support for the idea of Common Underlying Proficiency elaborated in Chapter Seven above: that is to say, the theory that there are certain skills and experiences learned within one cultural-linguistic context that can be put to immediate use in another cultural-linguistic context with relation to a 'new' set of cultural practices - skills and experiences that are, so to speak, 'transferable' through not being culture-specific⁹.

If such a view was implicit in the withdrawal system operated at Company Road, it was made explicit through a

series of interview responses with a number of key members of staff including Heads of Department and the Deputy Headteacher with responsibility for Curriculum. One Head of Year, for example, who was also an Art teacher who worked very closely with the ESL Department, talked in the following terms of the developing bilingual learners in his own classroom:

YH: What you have to remember is that these [Bangladeshi] kids don't come to us 'cold': they already know a lot about Art... like what it is, what it's for... They have an understanding that it's to do with looking at things in certain ways and then making symbolic or imaginative representations out of that, and they know that it's to do with making use of a whole range of materials and colours and textures. They've got skills, too. They may not all be exactly the same skills as they'll need, say, to pass a public examination in Art: but basically they're there... They know how to handle tools... and colours.

AM: So what about these other skills? The ones they may not be tested on - or, you could say, they won't need for the examinations? Do they get sort of replaced.

YH: Oh no. I don't think so. It's not about replacement, or 'correction' as such. It's about

adding skills and approaches to the ones they already have while at the same time recognising the value of existing skills and approaches. In fact, they've got a lot to teach the monolingual or monocultural kids, and we often use their work to show the whole class that there are different approaches that they [the 'monocultural' pupils] could adopt.

AM: And they don't find this confusing: the notion that different approaches are equally valid in your classroom but some will be preferred over others in the exam?

YH: That's not been my experience. In fact we're all used to being judged all the time by criteria that may not necessarily be our own - or our teachers'!

Apart from illustrating the belief held by certain teachers in certain subject areas that there is such a thing as Common Underlying Proficiency, this teacher's comments draw attention to three further points that will be of particular importance in considerations of the Art and English lessons described in the following three chapters:

(1) Though some skills may be transferable, there will always be others that are not, that cannot easily cross the 'cultural divide' (implied in the notion of pupils

having to "add skills and approaches to the ones they already have"): that is to say, the theory of Common Underlying Proficiency alone is not enough (see also Gonzalez 1993 on cognitive-linguistic forms that are culture-specific);

(2) In teaching bilingual pupils the new skills they will need - those skills which are not transferable - the teacher's job is not to replace existing skills but rather, to use a phrase we shall need to return to later, to "extend the pupil's symbolising and representational repertoires" (see also Levine 1993 p. 192 on the notion of repertoire extension, and Bakhtin 1986 p. 96 on the importance of commanding a "repertoire of genres");

(3) The logic of such views enables the teacher to embrace a teaching situation in which Common Underlying Proficiency and the need for pupils to gain expertise in a relatively narrow range of skills and approaches (those defined in examination and other school curricula) does not preclude the desirability or indeed the practicality of genuine pluralism in the classroom (as opposed, for example, to the pseudo-pluralism condemned by Sarup, 1986, which merely marginalises 'alternative' cultural forms and preferences).

This logic was supported by other teachers at Company Road, including the Head of English, who explained the high presence of stage 1 bilingual pupils in English classes in the following terms:

HE: It's really all to do with how you perceive English and how you perceive language. Pupils are using language in every subject area - as the Bullock Report pointed out in 1975! English is about language, but it's not, essentially, about teaching it to people if you see what I mean. It's about showing them how to use it effectively, and how to respond in certain ways to the language of others - in, for instance, the study of literature. An English lesson in England is not essentially different in that respect from a French lesson in France or a Bengali lesson in Bangladesh - though of course it's a lot different from, say, an English lesson in France or a French lesson in England. What we're about is developing reading, writing, speaking and listening skills that are, essentially, cross-cultural.

For instance, if you have a Bangladeshi child in your English class who can write in Bengali but not in English, it seems to me to be perfectly valid to get them writing a letter or a story or whatever in

Bengali. That way, they'll still be developing their letter-writing or story-writing skills, and as their English develops they'll simply be able to transfer these skills: they won't run so much danger of having got left behind.

(For interesting examples of writing development in which scripts in L1 gradually incorporate L2 elements and characteristics, see also The National Writing Project 1990, p.54 and pp.65-9.)

Views such as this, as well as accepting the validity of CUP as one basis upon which to structure pupils' learning, would appear to support the Levine and Cummins models of language-in-context described in Chapter Four above (see especially 4.5), in which the proper contexts for bilingual pupils' second-language development were perceived as the mainstream classroom and as the pupils' existing cognitive-linguistic (and indeed expressive) skills: models, it will be remembered, which stood in clear opposition to the model espoused at Kursal Lane. Certainly, it was a view shared by many - though by no means all - teachers at Company Road, and one which appeared to be supported through a number of the school's structures. These included the move to reduce language instruction through withdrawal; the organisation of all classes in all subjects into unsetting groups that were also linguistically and culturally mixed; and the provision

of first-language development classes for as many pupils as possible, both through the school's regular timetable and through making the school premises available for twilight classes.

Though on the face of it this would all seem to suggest a very different - and arguably more positive - learning experience for pupils at Company Road than at Kursal Lane, these views themselves were not without problems, as we shall see. The most obvious and significant of these were that the views themselves were not shared by everyone at the school, and that, in particular, they were not shared by key teachers in subject areas such as Science and History¹⁰. One difficulty here was that, except in the case of English, teachers appeared happy to accept the notion of Common Underlying Proficiency in relation to physical and creative activities but not in subjects which were perceived as "language heavy". A further problem relates to the fact that, in spite of the Art teacher's recognition that CUP does not apply to all skills and experiences, there remained a clear danger that teachers would act as if this were the case and, in so doing, overlook culture-specific aspects of pupils' work that were not transferable. In the examples quoted by the Head of English, for example, it could be argued that, although some aspects of letter-writing and story-writing might be cross-cultural or transferable, there are others that might not be: that is to say, there

might be generic differences in matters of style, appropriateness and content between letters and stories acceptable within one cultural-linguistic context and letters and stories acceptable within another. If such possible differences are overlooked, there is a danger that the teacher will treat manifestations of such difference in the pupils' work simply as errors: ie. this pupil does not know how to write a letter/story (in any language, implied). Such a danger also has implications for pluralism in the Art or English classroom, since it implies that there is only one way or set of ways of going about things, even though those ways may be expressed through different languages.

These problems will be explored in greater detail in the three chapters that follow. What is needed now is a further elaboration of the differences in philosophy at Company Road already referred to: differences between individual teachers but also between public policy and private practice.

8.4 Conflicting Views on Provision for Bilingual Pupils: Educationist and Teacher Perspectives

In spite of recent developments at the school, which had resulted in teachers in all subject areas seeing a lot more of the school's bilingual pupils than had hitherto been the case, views at Company Road on the best provision for such pupils were still as varied as those at Kursal Lane were

uniform. This was a subject that was seldom out of staffroom conversation for long, and one that aroused great passion and concern. On learning of the purpose of my presence in school as a researcher, most teachers were happy to share with me their thoughts and anxieties on this subject, and almost without exception were very favourably disposed to "this kind of research", many clearly anticipating that its 'results' would support what they had always felt to be true. For many teachers, any system of withdrawal at all was seen as (to quote various members of staff) a practice that was "racist": a "ghettoisation" that "denied pupils access to the whole curriculum", "limited their linguistic development by keeping them from linguistic exchanges with their peers", "impaired their social development" and "created and perpetuated an opinion among other ethnic groups in the school that Bangladeshi children are both different and inferior" - views often supported by reference to literature on assimilation and integration (see, for example, Sarup 1986).

Other teachers at the school saw things differently. For them, the school and the ESL department were "sacrificing these children for their own political ideals": stage 1 bilingual learners were "lost" (several teachers used this word) in the ordinary classroom; they "could not understand what the teacher was talking about" or "how they were expected to behave"; to put them into standard classrooms

was "an act of cruelty from which some of them never recover". For many of these teachers, the best possible policy for such pupils was for them to begin their school careers in what amounted to a scaled-down in-house version of the Kursal Lane Language Centre. Having successfully completed an 'induction course', taught mostly in English but partly in their own strongest language, that would give them essential information about their new school and country as well as some of the "basic language they would need" in order to "cope in the mainstream classroom", they would, when the time was right, be filtered into mainstream classes, still attending special lessons but less and less often as their L2 competence developed. The main responsibility for such pupils in these early months of schooling would reside "fairly and squarely with the ESL department".

A polarity of views as expressed above certainly existed at Company Road: however, there also existed a wide spectrum of opinion - and indeed no shortage of confusion and contradiction - between those polarities, which counterbalanced that which teachers considered desirable ("of course bilingual pupils should follow exactly the same curriculum as monolingual pupils") with that which teachers considered possible given current resources ("they simply don't understand a word of what I'm saying"). These contradictions, which take us back to the account of

Edwards and Mercer (1987) of teachers overtly espousing one educational philosophy while covertly practising another (see Chapter Five above), may find their explanation in Keddie's (1971) account of the differences between "educationist" and "teacher" contexts - that is to say, the notion that what seems like good practice in theory, away from the actuality of classroom interaction, may be rejected for alternative practice in the classroom itself, where more practical matters ('How can I get these children to be quiet?') or even different sorts of questions ('What will other people think of what I am doing?') are prioritised in the teacher's mind (see, especially, Keddie 1971 p.139, on attitudes to streaming)¹¹.

That tensions in this area existed 'within' individual teachers' minds (intrapersonally) as well as between teachers (interpersonally) is demonstrated by the following examples, chosen from among many similar statements:

- (1) I have one support teacher once a week for an English class that is nearly fifty per cent non-English speaking. A lot of our work is based on literature: it has to be. So what am I supposed to do? Ignore the literature side to the detriment of the English-speaking children, or press on with it knowing that for fifty per cent of the class it's a complete waste of time - time that could be better spent with a

specialist ESL teacher learning the language? Give me more support and I'd be delighted to have a class full of bilingual children. The way things are, it's not fair to anyone.

(English Teacher)

- (2) I'm supported in my first-year class for every lesson, and from my point of view it works very well: I mean, I don't know how I'd cope without it, to be honest. But I'm not convinced it's best for the children. What they really need is not just an ESL teacher: I think for real support they should have a bilingual teacher in with them - even one Maths lesson a week would be okay. That way, you could make sure they were getting the basic concepts, which at the moment I'm not sure that they are.

(Maths Teacher)

- (3) I've no objections at all to ESL children doing their Science or any other subject with the other children - as long as they are getting something out of it. But at the moment it's just a matter of sink or swim, which in my view is not good for anybody. Unless there are sufficient resources to make life in mainstream classes

more productive for them, I think we should use the limited resources we have in a different way.

(Science Teacher)

Statements such as these clearly suggest a tension between what teachers felt they would like to provide (in the "educationist" context) and what they felt they were able to provide (in the "teacher" context), thereby helping to explain some of the pedagogical confusions and contradictions we shall examine in the following chapters. They are also, however, illustrative of a gulf between teachers' private views regarding education for bilingual pupils, and their public views as expressed in a range of whole-school policy statements. Company Road School made much of its multilingual, multicultural intake as a positive characteristic, greeting visitors to the school with welcoming signs in a variety of languages and making repeated reference to the advantages of its "rich linguistic and cultural mix" in its prospectus, in its range of formal policy statements (for the Arts, for Numeracy, for Literacy, and so on), and in the details sent to applicants for teaching posts at the school. In all such statements, bilingualism was described in positive terms, and cultural pluralism was promoted as a central aspect of the school's ethos, as in the following extract from the school's Policy for the Arts:

Historically, Britain has based its critical values and aesthetic standards around Western European art forms. Too often, our perceptions and understanding of arts from non-European cultures have been channelled through the perceptions and value judgements of colonial administrators [...]. It is our responsibility as educators to [provide] an arts education that gives positive recognition to the differences of culture and heritage, and that respects and affirms the identity of each individual child.

8.5 Conclusions and Questions

At Company Road, provision for - and philosophy toward - the education of bilingual pupils varied significantly from that at Kursal Lane. Pupils' first languages were publicly valued and allowed to be used in the learning process in some subject areas; the notions of 'transference' and Common Underlying Proficiency received some support - again, in some subject areas; and bilingual pupils were taught, for the majority of the time, alongside monolingual peers following a standard secondary-school curriculum taught in the same language structures and vocabularies as for all pupils at the school¹².

Provision at Company Road was, however, characterised by contradictions and disagreements, both interpersonal and

intrapersonal, as to what the school should be doing for its bilingual pupils - a debate often focussing on perceptions of what could be done given current levels of resourcing. One feature of this debate was that some teachers thought bilingual pupils were better off in mainstream classes - most notably, in the areas of English, Art and some other 'practical' subjects - while other teachers - in particular, Science teachers - felt pupils were better off in withdrawal groups where they could, to quote one Science teacher, "get the language".

Having already examined pedagogies at Kursal Lane, which had originated from beliefs that beginner bilingual learners should, by and large, not be in mainstream classrooms and should not be encouraged to use their strongest languages, it makes sense to examine those classrooms at Company Road in which such pupils were welcome, and in particular to ask the following questions, in attempting to discover how different these pupils' experiences were:

1. Were bilingual pupils given access to a wider discursive range than at Kursal Lane, and, if so, how wide was that range? (Was it, for example, as wide as for monolingual pupils?)
2. How pluralistic were the approaches of their teachers? For example, did they - or how far were they able to -

actively encourage and celebrate a full range of generic forms and styles?

3. Was it true that stage 1 bilingual pupils coped better in English and in practical subjects, where lack of L2 development was not perceived as an insurmountable disadvantage, or was this itself a false proposition? Was it rather the case, for example, that the problems experienced by both bilingual pupils and their monolingual teachers in the classroom situation were less to do with language in the narrowest sense of the word (that is, with its vocabulary and its internal relations and structures), than with the knowledge and skills that different cultures value, the ways in which they (re)present that knowledge and those skills, and the different procedures that are maintained within different cultures for social interaction, both in formal, learning situations and in conversational, recreational ones? If this was the case, would bilingual pupils expect to experience similar problems in practical subjects as in academic ones?

These are the key questions to keep in mind as we now move to a consideration of some specific Art and English lessons at Company Road.

**CHAPTER NINE: ART AT COMPANY ROAD: ISSUES OF ASSESSMENT AND
DISCOURSE**

9.1 Nozrul and Mrs Green

The first Company Road lesson I want to examine is an Art lesson - Art being one of the "language light" subjects, it will be remembered, in which stage 1 bilingual pupils at the school were perceived to experience relatively few problems, and from which they were, consequently, rarely withdrawn.

The pupil on whom I have chosen to focus - Nozrul - was eleven years old at the time of the research project, and had come from the Sylhet region of Bangladesh. Six weeks had passed since he and his mother and two younger brothers had come to England. On his arrival, in October, he had been offered an immediate place at Company Road. At school in Bangladesh, which he had attended for four years from the age of seven, he had studied Mathematics, Science, Bengali, Islam, Physical Education and English, but apparently no Art or Craft subjects and none of what his new school called History and Geography¹.

It was into the second week of his English schooling that Nozrul experienced his first Art lesson. In the class of fourteen pupils, there were six Bangladeshis, two Moroccans,

one Indian and five British-born children, two of whom had parents born in the Caribbean. The class's Art teacher, Mrs Green, was highly qualified, very experienced, and a practising artist herself. She claimed in interview to take "essentially a positive attitude" towards bilingualism, and was very aware of what she called her "responsibility to make sure that all children do their best, regardless of their ethnic background or class". She had contributed to, and said that she fully supported, the school's pluralistic Policy for the Arts, already referred to in Chapter Eight above.

Despite her 'essentially positive' attitude, Mrs Green was, however, very acutely aware of problems related to provision for bilingual pupils in general and the presence of such pupils in her own class in particular. In terms of the inter- and intra-personal debates referred to in the previous chapter, she was of the opinion that resources at Company Road were inadequate to meet the needs of bilingual students, and that it was in this inadequacy, which made life "very difficult" for classroom teachers, that "the real racism towards these children" resided. A corollary of this view was that classroom teachers "too often [got] the blame for local and central governments' sins". As Mrs Green explained in interview immediately prior to the lesson observed:

[This] school isn't offering enough to these [Bangladeshi] kids. We do our best, but what can you do when they don't understand a word of what you are saying? That's where the racism is. You know? It's in the System, and the lack of resources. Until that's sorted out, we aren't going to get anywhere. All we'll get is the blame.

It needs to be said that these views were not without some validity: it had taken Company Road's Headteacher nearly two years of vigorous campaigning, for example, to persuade his Education Authority to appoint just one bilingual Bengali-English teacher to the school's staff, and the appointment that was eventually made was of a primary-trained teacher rather than one with a secondary subject expertise. It is also hard not to sympathise with a teacher confronted - as Mrs Green saw it - by a class of pupils not simply of "varying artistic abilities" but containing a substantial number of pupils "with enormous language difficulties".

It would be unproductive, however, to pursue such sympathies to the point of denial of responsibility for - or influence upon - what happens to pupils in school classrooms. As Hargreaves has pointed out:

Teachers are the immediate processors of the curriculum for the child. They are the evaluators of pupils'

academic work [...] the assessors of their overall ability [...] the immediate adjudicators of children's moral worth and the direct arbiters of the 'appropriateness' of their everyday behaviour.

(Hargreaves 1984 p.65)

An awareness of the financial constraints within which one is working is clearly necessary and important, both in terms of the realistic planning of lessons and establishment of goals, and in the interests of not blaming oneself for difficulties that ultimately lie beyond one's control. An important point that will emerge during the course of this case study, however, is that such an awareness should not hinder or stand in the place of other awarenesses, to do with the nature and effects of one's own pedagogy: that is to say, of the teacher-pupil relationships over which one does have some influence.

9.2 'Bad at Art': Not Doing What You Are Told

With Christmas a month away, Mrs Green had decided that her Year 7 class should begin making Christmas cards for their families and friends. On a display-table in the middle of the Art room, she had set three large, brightly-painted wooden nutcrackers facing in different directions: one representing a clown, two representing kings. The pupils,

sitting in a wide circle around the display, were told to select one of the figures to draw and to colour in on the front of a piece of folded white card.

It was intended, but never actually stated by Mrs Green:

- (i) that the pupils were not to move away from their desks while drawing unless given specific permission to do so (in order to change a rubber, sharpen a pencil and so on);
- (ii) that the children's drawings were to be naturalistic/representational reproductions from a fixed viewpoint of models that were already symbolic in nature (that is to say, they were faithfully to copy stylised figures, repeating the stylisation inherent in those figures but not introducing any new stylisations of their own).

These constraints were not stated, because Mrs Green had seen no need to state them. From her viewpoint, it was obviously appropriate behaviour to remain at one's table unless given permission to leave, just as the best drawings in this situation were clearly those which bore the closest visual resemblance - from a fixed viewpoint - to the object drawn. These were not so much conventions in her eyes as the Way of the World: things we are all, whatever our

previous experience of life or learning, expected to know.
As Mrs Green said after the lesson had ended:

I would have thought that, whatever your culture, it is appropriate behaviour to remain at your table unless given specific permission to leave. [...] When you are asked to copy something, that is what you do: you make a copy.

The pupils, who had been given one pencil and one rubber each in addition to their pieces of card, and been told not to begin colouring their pictures until their basic line-drawings had received Mrs Green's approval, settled down quickly to their task. Nozrul, however, who had clearly failed to appreciate either of the unspoken constraints referred to above, was the exception to this general rule. Repeatedly, he left his table - as he saw other pupils doing, though for different reasons - to walk about the room and examine his chosen figure - the clown - from different angles, on each occasion taking his pencil and piece of card with him and adding to his sketch. Each time he did this, he was chastised by Mrs Green, who interpreted the activity as naughtiness and instructed him to stay in his chair:

Mrs G: Nozrul, stop wandering about the room... Don't get up. (Waving a finger.) You must stay in your chair. (Slowly.) Stay sitting in your chair.

P1: Miss, he no understand.

Mrs G: Tell him in Bengali. Tell him he must stay in his chair.

(P1 explains in Bengali to Nozrul, who looks puzzled. P1 shrugs.)

For the most part, Nozrul obeyed Mrs Green's instructions. However, his confused expression suggested that he could not understand why other children were allowed to leave their seats, whether he had to stay permanently in his own, or - most fundamentally - how he was to draw his chosen figure without getting up to examine the parts he could not see from where he was sitting. Nozrul continued to leave his seat, and continued to be chastised for doing so, until finally he had completed his drawing to his own satisfaction.

The drawing itself (see Figure 19) was quite unlike that of any other child in the class: the figure's arms emerged from its jaws, there was a gap between head and hat, its legs had no discernible feet, and the decoration on the figure's back, not visible from where Nozrul had been sitting, appeared on its front. It was, in fact, immediately reminiscent of the drawings of much younger children, described by Vygotsky:

Often children's drawings not only disregard but also directly contradict the actual perception of the object. We find what Buhler calls 'X-ray drawings'. A child will draw a clothed figure, but at the same time will include [its] legs, stomach, wallet in [its] pocket, and even the money in the wallet - that is, things [the pupil] knows about but which cannot be seen in the case in question. In drawing a figure in profile, a child will add a second eye or will include a second leg on a horseman in profile. Finally, very important parts of the object will be omitted; for instance, a child will draw legs that grow out of the head, omitting the neck and torso, or will combine individual parts of a figure.

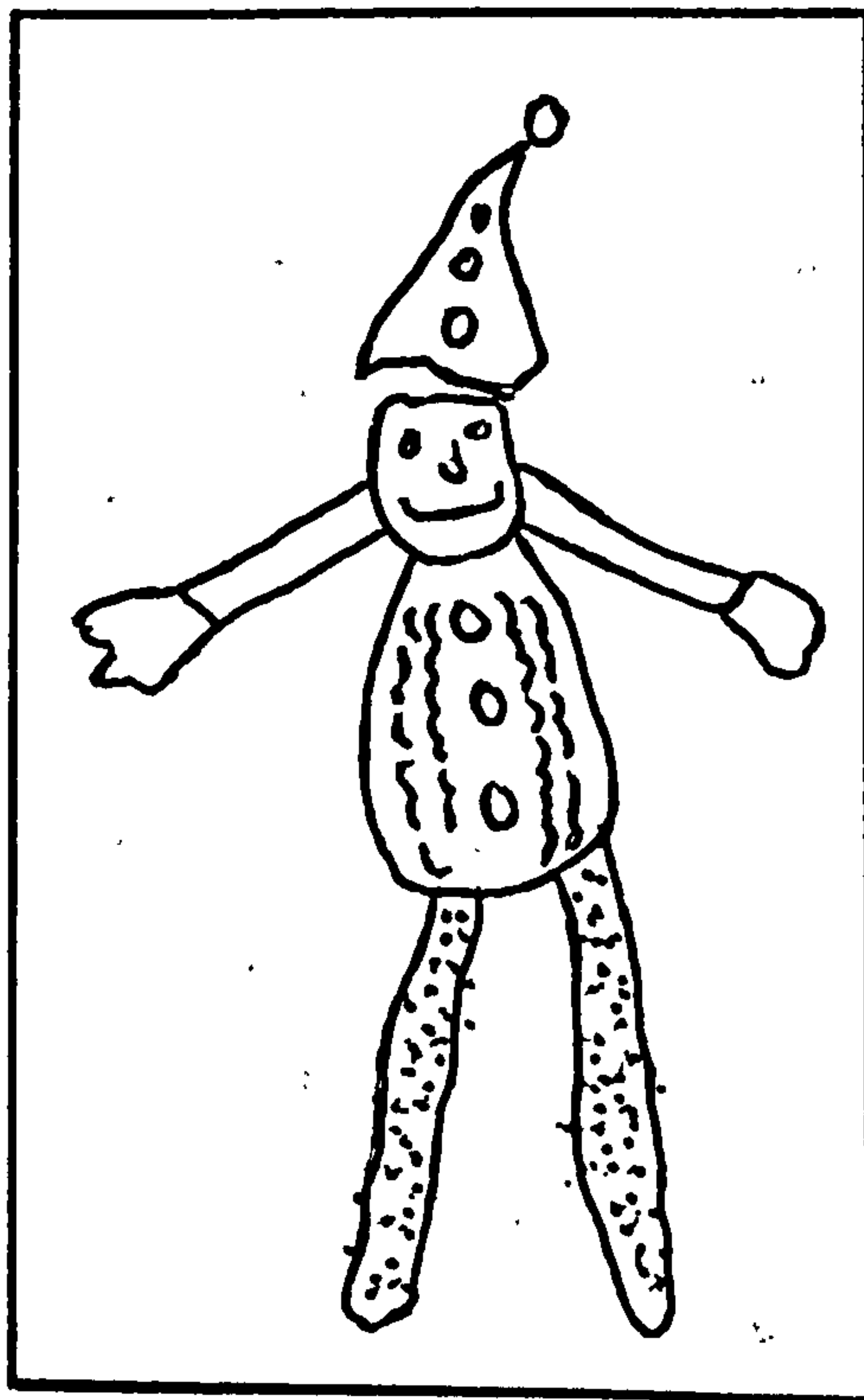
(Vygotsky 1972, p.112)

When Nozrul took his picture to Mrs Green for approval, she took it from him without comment, sent him back to his seat, and shared with me her conclusions about what he had produced:

You know what this shows, don't you. This child has a very severe learning problem. Look at this... (pointing to the arms in the drawing)... and this (pointing to the hat)... and here... (pointing to the decoration)... He can't even attack a simple task like this. He's not even seeing it properly... And that's the problem with so many

of these children: some of them are okay; they get the language and they survive... But kids like this need special help as well as language work...[and] I just can't give it...

Figure 19: Copy of Nozrul's Drawing of a Clown



(The original drawing was not made available. The above is a copy of the pupil's drawing, made by the researcher at the time of the observation.)

9.3 'Bad at Art': Defining Situations and Diagnosing Activity

What I want to call into question here is not Mrs Green's observation of Nozrul's artistic product: his drawing was,

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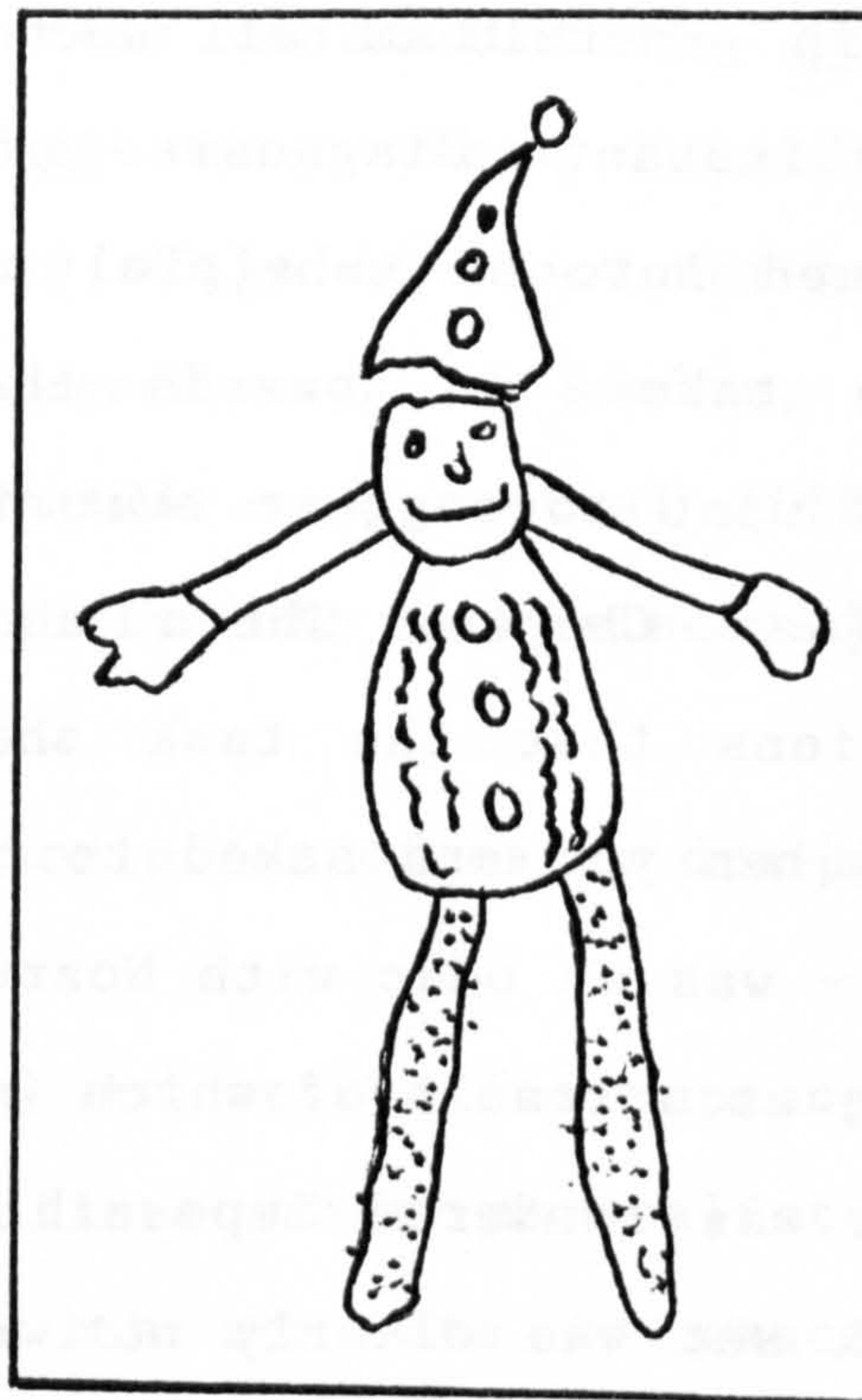
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9.3 'Bad at Art': Defining Situations and Diagnosing Activity

What I want to call into question here is not Mrs Green's observation of Nozrul's artistic product: his drawing was,

undeniably, of the kind normally associated in Western European cultures with the efforts of a much younger child. What I do want to question is her interpretation or explanation of what she had seen happening, her implied interpretation ("that's the problem with so many of these children" - the term "these children" referring to Bangladeshi children in general) of all such work, and the way in which her instant diagnosis of events was subsequently transformed into an unhelpful pedagogy. (This last matter will be taken up towards the end of the chapter.) In short, I want to suggest that her 'definition of the situation' (see Chapter Three above)- revealed through her observations that the task she had set was "simple" and that "[w]hen you are asked to copy something, that is what you do" - was at odds with Nozrul's definition of the same situation, as a result of which (cf. Woods 1992) effective interaction was rendered impossible. For Nozrul, for example, the task set was clearly not a "simple" one: nor was it one that was not open to interpretation. Here was a child who as yet understood hardly any English and who could scarcely be expected to know from his teacher's verbal instructions what, exactly, he was being asked to do. The best such a child could do was, we may reasonably suggest, to work the task out from (a) observing what other children were doing, (b) drawing on his previous experiences of - for example - figurative drawing and classroom behaviour. If we take these possibilities into

account, we may well come to the conclusion that his behaviour was not necessarily 'odd' at all, and that his drawing was not necessarily 'bad'.

Whereas Vygotsky claims that children do not always draw what they see ("Often children's drawings not only disregard but also directly contradict the actual perception of the object"), suggesting that children have their own 'preferred' way of going about things that may be different from the preferred ways of adults, Mrs Green was clearly inclined to impute a perceptual difficulty ("He's not even seeing it properly") as an explanation of Nozrul's product.

Vygotsky's description of early drawing continues thus:

Children do not strive for representation; they are much more symbolists than naturalists and are in no way concerned with complete or exact similarity, desiring only the most superficial indications. We cannot assume that children know people no better than they depict them; rather they try to name and designate than to represent.

(Vygotsky 1978, p. 112)

In broad terms, this model sits comfortably with the experiential model of drawing development described by,

among others, Atkinson (1991): a model which "does not assume a predictable hierarchical progression, involving related assumptions of an evolution from inferior or primitive to superior levels of ability" but which recognises that children

use drawing to represent a range of experiential orientations. [...] Their drawings necessarily involve the inventive and eclectic use of mark configurations to represent such experiences. The use of mark configurations may not always be consistent with those configurative schemes used to represent objects from a fixed viewpoint, which are often used to assess development in drawing.

(Atkinson 1991 p.58)

While it is not impossible to imagine Mrs Green's views on drawing development finding some areas of agreement with Vygotsky or with Atkinson, her overall opinions on this matter were underpinned by a view of child development which demanded a biological-psychological rather than a cultural-experiential explanation of her pupils' work. Describing herself in interview as "essentially a Piagetian", while regretting that she had not been able, "through the pressures of work", to "keep up with Art-teaching theory", her own account of the development of children's drawing was

informed by - and reminiscent of - a history of art-development theory dating back to the work of Sully (1895), Burt (1921) and Lowenfeld (1970), all of whom have described artistic/representational development in terms of internal mental-affective development rather than from cultural perspectives. (For a summary of this theory by a practising Art teacher, and a critique of it, see Atkinson 1992.) Like Lowenfeld, Mrs Green perceived children's drawing development in terms of a series of identifiable stages, and like Lowenfeld she appeared to correlate "drawing ability" with "intellectual level" (Lowenfeld 1970, pp.25-6, 36) - as a result of which doing well at Art meant, to use her words, "replicating certain artistic forms and genres: portraiture, still life, pattern, landscapes, abstracts and so on, in a variety of approved media". According to her, this replication was

something that can only be taught to a certain degree. Most children's art work can be improved, but some will always be more naturally talented than others, and some will never even reach first base.

In Mrs Green's view, being bad at Art was not necessarily, or even usually, an indication of poor overall performance at school, but "at a certain base level" it could be so regarded. In her eyes, the development from the symbolic to the representational was a 'natural' one that, in the

normal course of events with a 'normal' child, would take place almost in spite of instructional intervention (the very point at which Vygotsky, with his emphasis on the importance of pedagogy, comes into stark opposition with Piaget's emphasis on the inherent capacities of the child): it had something to do with heightened observational, manual, motor skills and with some notion of intrinsic 'intelligence' or 'ability'.

It is for this reason, perhaps, that Mrs Green saw Nozrul's symbolic representation as a developmental problem to do with a perceptual deficiency, rather than seeking other - perhaps experiential or cultural - explanations of the phenomenon: if a child of Nozrul's age did not achieve a 'good likeness' in his drawing, then the obvious explanation was that he was "not seeing it properly" - that, if his drawing was like that of a native five-year-old, his developmental capacity was also that of a (ie. of any) five-year-old. Nozrul was, in short, a 'backward' child. Not only that, but all other such pupils were likely to be backward². Putting this within the context of defining situations, we could say that Mrs Green's 'second' definition (her first being that the set task was easy and unambiguous) - that is to say, her belief that she had, before her, a 'backward' child - was almost certainly influenced by a particular view of child development that preceded her acquaintance with this particular pupil.

That there might be other, equally 'obvious' interpretations of what Nozrul had produced - interpretations that might also have explained his overall behaviour, including his continued movement about the room - had clearly not been accounted for in Mrs Green's diagnosis. One of the more obvious of these interpretations could be that Nozrul, like younger children, had simply not yet gained familiarity with a particular set of discourses and conventions that were taken for granted by the adult natives of his adopted country: for example, that drawing an object means, unless instructed otherwise, drawing it from a fixed viewpoint. If this was a difficulty for Nozrul, we might also, not unreasonably, suppose that it might in this case have been compounded by the nature of the task set. As Leary has written, very pertinently in the context of Nozrul's experience:

Much of Islamic art has [...] been described as 'aniconic', and Muslim attitudes to figurative art may involve rejection of human imagery.

(Leary 1984, p. 15)

Is it not possible, we might ask, that the task Mrs Green had set Nozrul, a Muslim, was one that he had never been set by a teacher before, either in terms of the required style or in terms of the chosen content? If so, might it not also

be possible that Nozrul was (Bartle-Jenkins 1980, p.16) "very unlikely to identify with a norm regarding figurative representation"?

9.4 'Alternative' Diagnoses

I have suggested that a significant feature of Mrs Green's outlook was that it immediately interpreted a manifest failure to perform-as-required as an innate intellectual-perceptual-technical deficiency (Nozrul could not only not see properly; he could not draw accurately even that which he did see), divorcing the issue from any social, cultural or historical context - and, we might add, from discourse itself. I have indicated that this represents on Mrs Green's part a pseudo-Piagetian³ view of innate capacities that are reached at certain stages in each 'normal' child's life but that are reached much more slowly in certain children with 'learning difficulties'. I have argued that this view of child development may have led Mrs Green to a particular diagnosis of Nozrul's work and general behaviour, and I have suggested that alternative views of development might have resulted in a quite different diagnosis.

One such alternative has been argued by, among others, Atkinson (1994). Referring to Foucault (1992, p.49), Atkinson locates the school curriculum in the realm of "discourses", which do not "simply refer to things in the

world" but which are, rather, "'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak [...]. Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects, they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own invention'" (Atkinson 1994, p.1: see also Bourdieu 1977 pp.11-12). This is as much as to say that what we may take as 'common sense', 'reality', or 'the truth' is not, as it were, something external to ourselves that we 'discover' and elaborate through discursive practices: rather, our discursive practices themselves create the common sense, the reality, the truth. Furthermore, it is the very function of discourse to make it appear as if the reverse were true - as if common sense, reality, the truth did have an existence external and prior to the discourses in which they are elaborated⁴.

Atkinson (ibid. pp.1-2) goes on to select, as an example of a "discursive object", the notion of "ability", and specifically "the notion of drawing ability":

Here [in the school situation], what constitutes ability [...] is not some natural state but the valuing of the production of particular drawing forms within a cultural tradition above other, less valued kinds of production. The use of the term 'drawing ability' tends to produce a closure whereby certain drawing forms occupy a kind of dominance over others.

Atkinson's observations are of particular relevance to us here for two reasons. First, they transpose issues of diagnosis from the realm of internal, individual psychological development to that of essentially social discourse. Not only is education about initiating pupils into certain discursive practices (see also Walkerdine 1982), but the very 'values' and criteria by which children are assessed are themselves merely discourses, open to challenge and interpretation. A child who does not produce the kind of drawing required (by the teacher, by the examination board, etc.) may have failed to do so not out of some innate lack of 'ability' but through insufficient experience of a particular discursive practice or through a preference for producing an 'alternative' drawing. (For an interesting parallel, related to teaching methodology, see also Bruner's note on the "'range of acceptable means' of a culture": Bruner 1976 p.115.)

It is, consequently, highly dangerous to assume from such drawing that the child is in some way developmentally deficient. As Walkerdine argues, with reference to the "not surprising" fact that "illiterate or unschooled adults" show, through formal reasoning tasks, some of the same characteristics as children:

There is no basis for inferring that the results of reasoning tasks show that such people are childlike or have undeveloped minds.

(Walkerline 1982, p. 142.)

The second point of relevance in Atkinson's observations is that discourse itself is located very firmly within the context of culture and within that which is, specifically, culturally variable (see also Landes 1965, and Volosinov 1973, pp.28-9). From this perspective, the Art teacher seeks to eliminate value-judgements based on notions of 'civilised' and 'primitive' art, attempting to bring "a global perspective to the studio [and] reflect that each work of art is an experiential response of its creator [that] can be understood only in [cultural-]contextual terms" (Bartle-Jenkins 1980, p. 16: see also Read 1964). In particular (Bartle-Jenkins, *ibid.*) the teacher needs to acquire a certain distancing from cultural values acquired, as norms, from one's own childhood. The misrecognition of such norms - that is, perceiving them as 'universals' rather than as 'arbitrariness' - may, as Taber has argued, lead the teacher incorrectly to assume that the use of certain artistic devices ('scale', 'perspective' and so on) "is part of growing into artistic maturity, and separates the experienced painter from a beginner" (Taber 1981, p.61).

Once Nozrul's drawing is approached from the context of cultural variation - that is to say, that certain forms of representation are not only favoured within cultures but also between them - those alternative reasons for his behaviour and for his creation, already referred to in terms of discursive practice, immediately appear even more convincing than the 'universal developmental' model adopted by Mrs Green.

To illustrate what I mean by this, and what the pedagogical implications are of such an alternative approach, let us consider, briefly, the work of another practising teacher, Ann Taber. Taber (1978 & 1981) identifies a range of areas in which what is accepted as 'normal' and 'good' by one culture - let us say, by the majority culture of a particular institution - may be considered strange and even 'bad' by another culture (for example, a minority culture in a particular institution), and vice versa.

Taber not only questions the Western European's unquestioning acceptance of certain 'norms' of representation as 'correct' and 'real' (her challenging of notions of 'realism' will seem particularly relevant when we come to look at an English lesson at Company Road), but strives herself to attain that 'distancing' recommended by Bartle-Jenkins in order to appreciate qualities in her Asian

pupils' work that would remain hidden from the practitioner who resisted such efforts:

One needs to think more carefully about what is taken to be a 'realistic' representation of a three-dimensional world. Our standard method of drawing objects from a fixed point of observation (more or less the procedure of photography) produces a picture that totally distorts certain aspects of reality [...] I began to realise that I was judging [my students'] work by the standards of a procedure that they had not attempted to use. Their drawings had an element of truth and power that projective representation cannot achieve as it involves technical problems that mar visual clarity [...] The projective method is only a 'realistic' style when defined by current 'Western' ideas.

(Taber 1981 pp.61-2, my emphasis.)

Taber's view of the bilingual child's artistic development is broadly in line with Selinker's (1972) and Miller's (1983) view of the bilingual child's linguistic development, that begins by looking not at what the bilingual child is not doing but at what the child can and is doing, treating 'misses' at achieving the target representation not as errors but as a kind of 'interlanguage' that needs to be recognised and understood by the teacher if appropriate

assistance is to be given. Her recognition that drawing from a "fixed point of observation" is culture-referenced and that in Eastern cultures "artists have experimented with different projective representations to produce more expressive compositions or to emphasise symbolic meanings" contrasts poignantly with Mrs Green's assessment of Nozrul's drawing, and seems bound to result in a different pedagogy in line with a different set of expectations.

In a further passage, which provides a very useful parallel to the situation involving Nozrul and Mrs Green, Taber describes how, when asking her own pupils to draw a still-life composition, she was

somewhat dismayed when they picked up the objects which I had taken such care to arrange, and replaced them in a way that would show an aspect they considered best suited for pictorial representation.

(Taber 1981, p.61.)

The parallel here with Nozrul's walking about the room in order to see parts of the figure that he had wanted to draw but could not see from the fixed viewpoint is an important one. So, too, is the opposition between Taber's response to her pupils' actions - allowing them to deviate from her lesson plan and to challenge her assumptions - and that of

Mrs Green, who treated such attempted interference as naughtiness. This second opposition is in part explained by the following observations:

Although I was often delighted by qualities of richness, intricacy and patterning in the students' work, I was sometimes concerned by what seemed to me to be a lack of both powers of observation and imaginative originality. Most of the children did not seem to be very concerned with the kind of observation that is expected in the English schools when a 'realistic' picture is attempted. The children seemed unconcerned about overlapping the objects in a scene, the scale of objects against people, foreground and background size adjustments and 'correct' perspective.

(Taber 1981 p.61.)

Here, Taber's remarks about "powers of observation" are strikingly reminiscent of Mrs Green's observation that Nozrul was "not even seeing things properly", and of a subsequent observation that "[h]e can't even draw a straight line [...] How do you begin to teach basic techniques like that to a child of this age [...]?". Whereas Mrs Green attributed these features to an inability on her pupil's part, however, Taber is more inclined to treat them in terms

of her pupils' preferences: in her words, they "seemed unconcerned".

9.5 Implications for Pedagogy

What, we need to ask, are the different pedagogical outcomes of these alternative diagnoses of bilingual pupils' drawing - and what impact are they likely to have on the subsequent development of the child?

The pedagogical implications of Taber's approach, and of that argued by Atkinson, are already implicit in Taber's descriptions of her own classroom practice. What Taber seems to me to be arguing for is something similar to what English and Languages teachers sometimes refer to as a Language Awareness Programme: except that we would either have to extend our definition of language to include artistic - and, arguably, all other - forms of representation, or have to call it something different, like a Cultural Awareness Programme. Such a programme would be aimed at helping teachers and pupils to a proper understanding of cultural difference - including the important concept that 'different' does not in any way imply 'better' or 'worse' - and would consequently pursue a "repertoire extension" model of teaching and learning (cf. Chapter Eight above) rather than one of "replace-and-correct": that is to say, bilingual pupils would be - to use

Walkerdine's and Atkinson's terminology - initiated into new discursive practices, but this would not be at the expense of more familiar practices, which would be simultaneously encouraged and celebrated.

To put this in more concrete terms, new forms of representation favoured in the English school system would be learned as important additions to forms of representation in which the pupil already had expertise and which were already valued outside the English school system. Nozrul would not - at least, not without a great deal more evidence - be told that his drawing was wrong: nor would he be taught on the basis of such a diagnosis. Rather, he would be shown alternative ways of drawing - including new techniques - that would widen his range and at the same time help him do better within the English school system. This would involve, centrally, showing him examples of the kind of drawing styles the teacher wanted him to add to his repertoire so that he had a clear idea of what was required.

Following her particular diagnosis of the situation, this kind of pedagogical approach was never likely to be followed by Mrs Green, and indeed it was not. During the course of my first visit to her class, before Nozrul had completed his drawing, she had found time to sit down beside her new pupil and demonstrate to him how to draw a 'good likeness' of a face using geometrical principles. (At this stage, she had

not questioned his 'seeing', but rather the way he had sought to 'translate' what he had seen through his representation: cf. DES 1983 p.18.) This help, which had comprised sketching an oval to indicate the outline of a head as viewed from the front and then locating the position of features through the intersections of various meridians, had taken up five minutes of Mrs Green's time and she had clearly perceived it as time well spent.

During my second visit to the class, which was also the next time Mrs Green saw Nozrul, it was noticeable that her instruction towards him had ceased to be technical and had become exclusively procedural, dominated by an increasing view of Nozrul's "naughtiness" brought about by his "frustration at being in an inappropriate learning situation". During this lesson, her only communications to him comprised increasingly angry variations on: "Sit down"; "Stop talking"; "Use those [pencils] over there"; "Get a [sharpener]".

The insistence on 'sitting down' and 'stopping talking' - in response to Nozrul's continued determination to find out for himself what he was supposed to be doing - may be perceived as particularly unhelpful, since it effectively closed off his principal learning strategy at this stage, which was imitation of his peers.

The extent to which Mrs Green's pedagogy directly affected Nozrul's subsequent behaviour and progress in this class is very difficult to assess. We cannot discount other possible explanations, for example, to do with other in- and out-school situations experienced by this pupil; nor can we dismiss, on the basis of the available evidence, the possibility that Mrs Green's initial diagnosis was, fundamentally, correct. The point is, however, that Mrs Green did not herself allow for any alternative interpretation(s) of what she had seen: that is to say, she entertained no alternatives to her immediate 'snap diagnosis' of Nozrul's work and ability that portrayed him as immediately and enduringly deficient. This inevitably limited the range of pedagogical approaches she felt it appropriate to draw upon, and effectively denied Nozrul the opportunity of demonstrating that he might not have been intrinsically 'backward' at all.

Whatever the cause of Nozrul's subsequent behaviour, it needs to be said that in subsequent Art lessons he became less and less inclined to carry out any of the assignments set, and presented himself more and more as a "behaviour problem", regularly seeking out opportunities for naughtiness that involved hiding other pupils' work and equipment, making marks on other pupils' work, passing items about the classroom, and trying to make other pupils laugh with amusing gestures (see also Coard 1971 p.10). It is also

important to note that he did not present himself in this way in other lessons, in which he was, typically, perceived as "quiet", "well behaved" and even "a bit withdrawn".

9.6 Summary and Conclusions: 'Visible' and 'Invisible Proficiencies

In this chapter I have described some of the early experiences of a stage 1 bilingual pupil at Company Road in a 'language light' subject area in which, it was believed, the pupil would experience relatively few difficulties and be able to make use of existing, 'universal' skills.

I have tried to show how, in such a situation, bilingual pupils may experience difficulties of the same sort they might encounter in the 'language heavy' classroom, including a reluctance or inability on the teacher's part to recognise or value existing skills, and a tendency to misrecognise the pupils' activity simply as a faulty or incorrect version of what is valued in the pupils' new school system. In this situation, although, on the surface, the pupil may appear to have been given access to a wider set of discourses than at Kursal Lane (for example, the pupil in question was given the same task as the rest of the class), in practice this remained something of an illusion. The pupil was only allowed, for example, to operate within a discourse which favoured a particular kind of 'accurate' representational

drawing made from a fixed viewpoint, as opposed to one in which the artist symbolises the object drawn by including aspects visible from a range of viewpoints and focussing on maximising visual information.

Against this, I have set the views of other teachers, who have 'distanced' themselves sufficiently from an ethnocentric viewpoint to be able to seek out and recognise cultural differences and to provide alternative diagnoses on which to structure their pedagogies. These teachers, I believe, have been able to promote more constructive pedagogies because they have perceived their pupils not simply as bilingual but as multicultured: that is to say, they have not confined their considerations of such pupils to matters of language and language-development, but have been able to recognise that such pupils are likely to possess 'out-of-school' cultural preferences and skills that must come to sit side-by-side with newly-acquired 'in-school' preferences and skills - in much the same way that first languages may continue to exist, to develop and to be used alongside second languages.

I have not wished to suggest that Mrs Green's diagnosis was necessarily inaccurate: considerably more evidence would be required confidently to make such a claim. I have suggested, however, that her diagnosis was made very hastily, that it was based on a particular, rather limiting

notion of child development, and that it structured her pedagogy in ways that were manifestly unhelpful. It is a diagnosis that leads us back, in fact, to the concerns expressed by Cummins (1984, pp. 130-1: see also **Chapter Seven** of this thesis) that bilingual pupils are too often misdiagnosed as having learning problems when the real reason for their 'poor' performance may reside in the fact that they have not yet acquired the expressive skills they will need for work that is essentially new to them.

Before leaving Mrs Green and Nozrul, there is one further point that needs to be returned to and developed, that may not only help to explain the events we have already considered in this chapter but that should be of considerable help in the study of an English lesson that follows. This point refers us back to the observations that have already been made about the theory of Common Underlying Proficiency (see, especially, **Chapter Seven** above), and specifically to the fact that, in addition to focussing on that which is common between cultures (that which is 'under the surface'), we must also focus, in equal measure, on that which is different (that which is 'above the surface' or visible).

All the ideas discussed so far in this chapter - the argument for broadening our concept of language towards one of culture-differentiated representational styles and forms;

the potential 'invisibility' of those representational styles and forms to native practitioners that brings with it assumptions about their status and 'correctness'; the need for teachers to stand back and examine their own and their students' existing cultural practices in relation to one another - are brought neatly together in the work of Martin Lewis (1987), who also moves us on a stage further.

Drawing a parallel with De Saussure's (1915) description of language in terms of 'langue' - that is, the normatively identical forms from which individual speech acts are constructed - and 'paroles' - that is, the individual speech acts themselves - Lewis talks of the 'language' of art and of its acts of 'speech', where I take 'speech' to mean individual artistic creations and 'language' the accepted patterns and possibilities from which those 'speech acts' derive and in whose terms they exist. The problem facing Mrs Green and all art teachers is that in order usefully to diagnose a newly-arrived bilingual pupil's artistic performances she must first know something of the artistic language within which the pupil is already working. "If we are insufficiently familiar with the 'language'", argues Lewis, "we are unlikely to understand its 'speech': and if we do not understand someone's speech we run the risk of labelling it second-rate" (Lewis 1987, p.31. See also Coard's assertion that "[t]o say that [someone's] language and that of [their] entire family and culture is second rate

is to accuse [them] of being second rate": Coard 1971, p.29).

The notion of asking teachers to get to know something of their pupils' 'other' languages and cultures is not necessarily as daunting as it sounds. Certainly, if it meant learning the vocabulary, syntax and calligraphy of a number of other languages' spoken and written forms, the task would be an impossible one: however, what is really meant, I think - and what teachers might reasonably expect to do - is the familiarisation of oneself, through personal discovery if necessary, with some of the general linguistic forms and styles favoured and practised within those other languages, along the lines recommended and practised by Ann Taber. This getting to know another person's ways of doing things and of communication necessitates, of course, prior knowledge of and awareness of one's own taken-for-granted ways of operating. As Lewis says:

If we are unaware of the construction of our personal reality, it is virtually inevitable that we will view the construction of the reality of others as an appendage of our own. Although we may enter the worlds of others with sensitivity and enjoy qualities we find there, we may perhaps see only decoration and surface [...] The messages that do get through can remain peripheral to our

own deep truths. In such an event, our own world view remains untouched.

(Lewis 1987, p. 31)

'Reality' for Lewis is clearly not a constant: it varies itself from culture to culture, both in its perception and in its representation through sign-systems that will include not only words and groups of words but visual representations, gestures, movements, notions of social etiquette, and so on. Teachers must make themselves aware of this variability, and learn to perceive the world as (ibid.)

a universe of sign systems if they are to encourage their pupils in explorations of seemingly familiar culture, be able to communicate about it to those who know it less well, and wish to promote intelligent entry to patterns of culture that are unknown, distant or alien.

The two interrelated strands of this approach - to see one's own culture as a set of arbitraries, and simultaneously to see one's pupils' cultures in the same way - have in common the notion of making 'visible' or problematic things which are, in the normal course of our lives, 'invisible' or taken-for granted (for instance, the taken-for-granted notion that there is only one set of criteria by which to

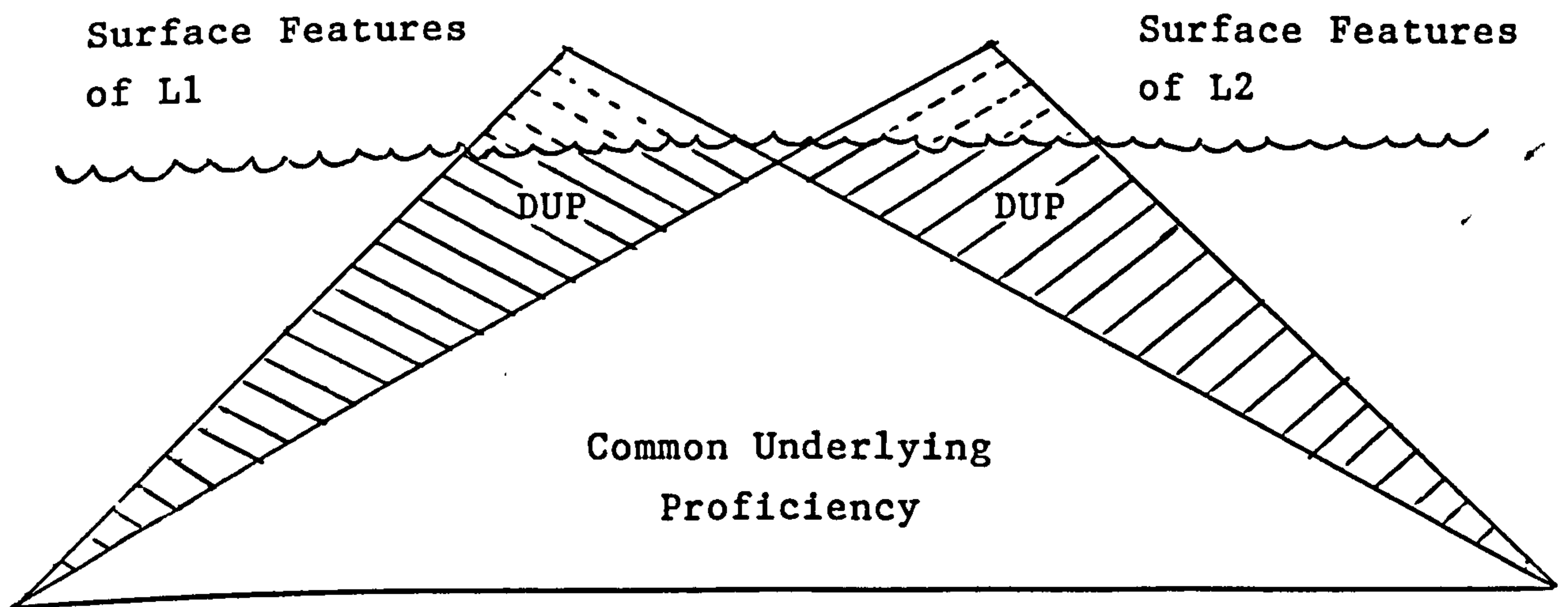
evaluate the drawing of an object, regardless of one's cultural background). In this respect, they call to mind Cummins' notion of Common Underlying Proficiency, in which there are 'invisible' skills that are common across languages and cultures, underpinning 'visible' differences. What I would argue is that Mrs Green assumed too much for underlying proficiency - acting, in effect, as if, to use Lewis's terminology, Nozrul's 'langue' was identical to her own - and that she took too little account of the invisible differences between cultures that would have helped her to explain the visible differences.

Fully to appreciate how this works, we need to re-examine Cummins' 'Dual Iceberg' representation of Underlying Proficiency and to present it in a slightly modified form (see Figure 20).

This representation is identical to that shown in Chapter Seven, except that two 'hidden' areas have been shaded in on either side of the larger triangle. It is precisely these shaded areas that proved problematic in Mrs Green's diagnosis and that need clarification if the Common Underlying Proficiency theory is to stand up to serious interrogation. These areas are 'below the surface' and consequently 'hidden': but they are not common. They are, in fact, that part of a person's 'langue' that is culture-specific, that lies only just below the surface of the

visible manifestations of their language and culture. They are the very areas that teachers need to explore if they are to understand and respond appropriately to the traps that Common Underlying Proficiency can lay, and if, in particular, they are to appreciate that, though some skills and forms are common between cultures, others need very specifically to be learned (see also Gonzalez, 1993). These areas I have chosen to refer to as Differential Underlying Proficiency, in order to suggest both their distinction from and their kinship to Common Underlying Proficiency.

Figure 20: The "Dual Iceberg" Representation of Underlying Proficiency: Modified



DUP = Differential Underlying Proficiency

(Adapted from Cummins 1984, p.143)

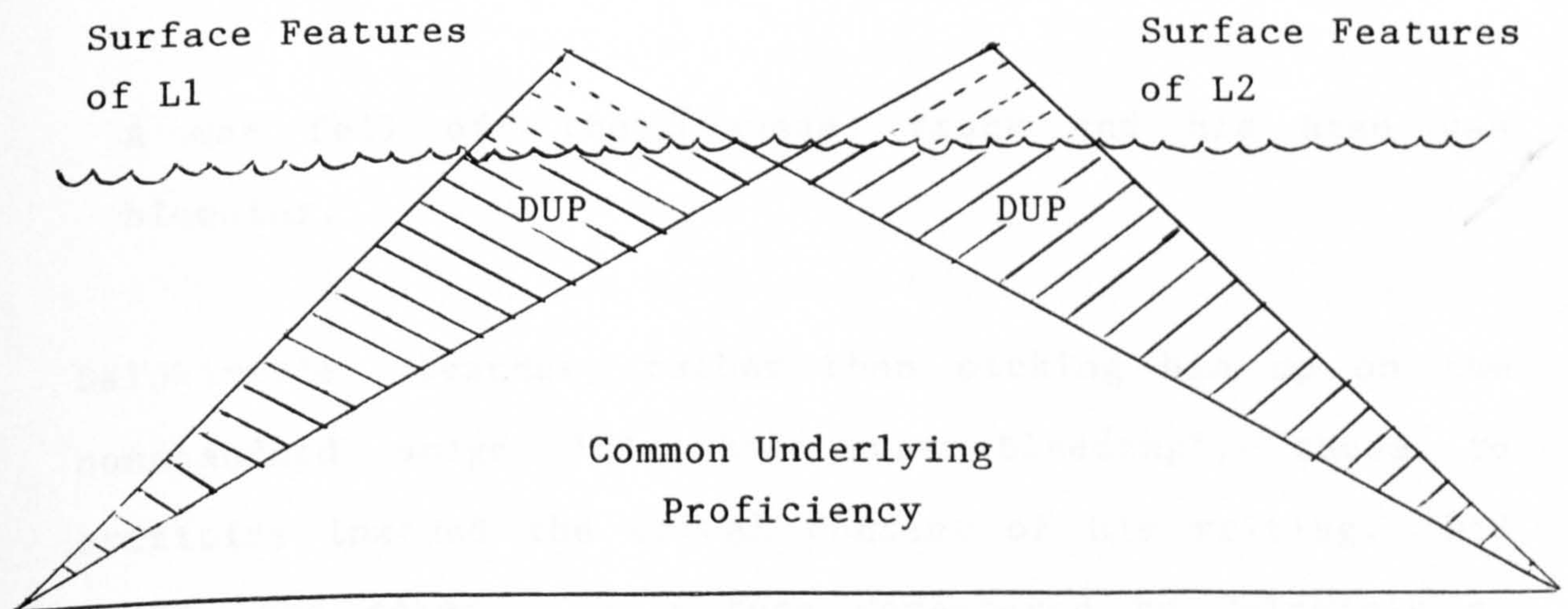
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It is the central purpose of the following chapter to illustrate and to elaborate this notion of Differential Underlying Proficiency in greater detail and in a different pedagogical context.

CHAPTER TEN: ENGLISH AT COMPANY ROAD: MATTERS OF EXPERIENCE
AND GENRE

10.1 Introduction: Questioning Realities

In his address to the annual conference of the National Anti-Racist Movement in Education, April 1988, the St-Lucian born linguist Morgan Dalphinis described his own early classroom experiences on arriving in an English school. Very early on in his new school career, one of Dalphinis's English teachers asked the class to write a composition based on some aspect of their personal life-experience. Dalphinis's response was to write a story which included everyday scenes of his life in St Lucia, of which the following was one:

A man fell off the [banana] truck and his head was bleeding.

Dalphinis's teacher, rather than picking him up on the nonstandard usage 'his head was bleeding', chose to criticise instead the actual content of his writing. "Did this", she asked - in a tone remembered by Dalphinis as clearly indicating "This is actually very unconvincing!" - "really happen?"

The answer to this question was "Yes, it really did happen". As far as Dalphinis was concerned, he had written about something from his own experience that was not fantasy but reality: part of everyday life on the St Lucian banana trucks. His teacher, however, remained unconvinced. "I got the feeling," Dalphinis said, "that she was questioning my normal reality. [...] The semantic content [of my writing] was not within her particular frame of reference."

My reason for quoting Dalphinis's experience is that it helps contextualise the teaching-learning exchanges I am about to describe in a Company Road classroom, indicating that the experience of the pupil here was by no means unique. I intend to show that, as with Dalphinis, the Company Road teacher did not confine himself to matters of grammatical or stylistic 'correctness' (though plenty of interventions were made in these areas), but - in an echo of Mrs Green's claim that "he's not even seeing it properly" - actually questioned his pupil's 'reality', that is to say, his experience of life. At the same time, I want to develop the notion of 'Differential Underlying Proficiency' introduced in the previous chapter, and to draw attention to certain characteristics of the English classroom at Company Road. In particular, I want to reiterate the fact that, unlike most classrooms at Company Road - and all classrooms at Kursal Lane - bilingual pupils in Company Road English classes were, as a matter of policy, actively encouraged to

use both first and second languages in their reading, speaking and writing activities. Such a policy would appear, ipso facto, to value the experiences bilingual pupils bring with them into the 'monolingual' classroom¹. That this was, manifestly, not always the case will lead us inevitably to a fuller examination of the notion of extending linguistic and other representational "repertoires" (Bakhtin 1986 p.96, Levine 1993 p.192: see also Chapter Eight above), and to a consideration of the view elaborated by Pierre Bourdieu that school curricula are not only "arbitrary"², but that their arbitrariness is 'hidden' by "the arbitrary power" of pedagogies (Bourdieu 1977 pp. 5 & 11-12: see also Apple 1979 p.130 on the arbitrariness, in the educational context, of 'good' and 'bad').

10.2 Abdul's Love Story: Corrections of Style

Reference has already been made in Chapter Three (3.4) to the teacher at Company Road whose pupil - Abdul - had been asked to write a love story. I suggested at that time that the teacher and the pupil had brought different interpretations to bear on what the set task had been, partly because they had already brought into the teaching-learning situation different notions of what a 'good' or appropriate love story was and, certainly in the case of the teacher, an unvoiced assumption that what is good or

appropriate in one cultural context is equally good or appropriate in another. It is the interaction between this teacher and this pupil that I shall explore in greater detail now.

Abdul was a fourteen-year-old boy³ in year 10. He had been in England for eighteen months, joining Company Road School in Year 8. Perceived by his English teacher as a "polite, keen, hardworking pupil", he was following, among other subjects, a public examination course in English, in an unsetting class in which he was one of ten Sylheti-speakers and in which all but two pupils were bilingual.

Abdul's English teacher, Ms Montgomery, had set the class a project for their examination folders, first reading them a short story about a teenage boy's secret and unrequited love for a girl in his class, then inviting the pupils to write love stories of their own with the instruction that they should be based as far as possible on their own experience and that they should be "true to life".

After one hour-long lesson and a homework, Abdul, working alone, had produced the first draft of his story, the beginning of which is shown as Figure 21. There was a support-teacher in Abdul's class: Mr Geddes, a member of the school's ESL Department, who had been timetabled to work with Ms Montgomery every time she had this particular

class for English. Mr Geddes was one of the ESL teachers most committed to working with mainstream subject teachers, and one of those most convinced of the value of - to use his words - "recognising these pupils' existing language and learning skills", including "allowing them to produce written work in Bengali or English or a combination of the two".

Figure 21: Copy of Part of the First Draft of Abdul's Story



Love Story

19-3-87

by Abdul

once aponar time I fund a grill and I ask har exquiseme.
wher you going she said?

I went to go some way wher you ask me for.' I said No I ✕
Just Ask you you going I am sory about that have you dont
mind she . said thats OK and anther I fund har on the
buse and i ✕ was set on the Front and she was set on the
back about i Five Minuts ago two bay was come And ther

set back of the set then this two bay said to hiair
hellow ~~2~~ wher you going ~~8~~ And she was ~~sket~~ skate.

and bays go ~~am a~~ ~~treyng~~ wha trey to do some bad think,

And I go ~~everthe~~ overth and ask hiar ther go gona ~~table~~.
tabale with you she said yes

Can you half me plase. then I take ~~hai~~ hire and ~~we~~ ~~go~~in

It was Mr Geddes who sat with Abdul to work with him on the preliminary draft of his story, and his initial responses to Abdul's work were of two kinds. First, he focussed on the production of acceptable Standard English sentences, spellings, punctuation and paragraphing; on presenting the story so that it would, to quote Mr Geddes, "make immediate sense to any reader". This focus included helping Abdul with some of his more obvious linguistic confusions, between, for example, 'get' and 'see'; in the presentation of direct speech; and as to why 'hafe nowar' should really be 'half an hour'. These corrections, which (Loveday 1982 p.61) could be described in terms of "formal linguistic knowledge" - that is to say, knowledge about the surface-features, vocabulary and formal grammatical structures of language rather than, say, matters of style or register - were written by Mr Geddes on to Abdul's draft, with little explanation as to what had been wrong with the original⁴.

A second set of corrections, made simultaneously with the first, related to Abdul's storytelling style. Again, there was little explanation as to why these were necessary - merely general, dislocated observations such as "Let's get rid of some of these 'ands'", and "I think that sounds a bit more grown up" - and indeed there was little differentiation in Mr Geddes' own mind between these corrections and the others. In answer to my question "Are you not actually changing the style here?", for example, Mr Geddes replied: "No, I don't think so. It's the same basic story. I've just made it hang together a bit better. It's important to these kids that when other pupils read their work it looks right and gets taken seriously."

In these corrections, as in the others, Mr Geddes' strategy was consciously to avoid detailed explanation ("At this stage of language development, it'd frankly be a waste of both our time") in favour of teaching "through example and imitation".

It was clear from Mr Geddes' remarks, typified in the use of the words 'right' and 'better', that he perceived a certain 'neutrality' in these corrections: that is to say, not just a neutrality about the correctness or otherwise of his pupil's grammar, spelling, punctuation and paragraphing but, through dealing with them in the same breath as these 'formal linguistic' matters, a neutrality about certain

basic matters of style. That these matters of style might actually have been qualitatively different from the formal linguistic matters had, apparently, remained invisible to Mr Geddes. Though he had claimed not to have interfered with Abdul's 'basic story', to have merely "tidied the piece up a bit" to make it acceptable to an immediate audience, we could in fact argue that he had interfered with the basic story by, for example, moving its style from an essentially additive or linear approach (characterised by the repeated use of 'then' and 'and') towards a more subordinative one. (For an elaboration of these differences in relation to oracy- and literacy-based cultures, see Ong 1982: also, Chapter Eleven below.)

This is an interesting development, and one whose consideration will help us when we come to analyse some of Mr Geddes' more overt stylistic criticisms of Abdul's work, that were to follow when teacher and pupil worked together towards a second draft. For the moment, it needs to be said that there was nothing fundamentally wrong in Mr Geddes' encouraging Abdul away from additive ways of writing towards the subordinative ways favoured by Abdul's new educational milieu. Clearly, Abdul would need to be able to operate effectively in these ways in order to do well at school and, in particular, to succeed in any public examinations he was to take. We could argue that it would be unhelpful, however, if Abdul were asked - or felt that he was being

asked - simply to abandon known ways of doing things rather than to add to his linguistic repertoire, or if his teacher had a perception, already passed on to Abdul, that there was one 'right' way of doing things and that any alternative way was not simply different but wrong. In this respect, we need to ask whether Abdul, as the recipient of Mr Geddes' grammatical and stylistic corrections, would already have perceived the same lack of differentiation and the same sense of neutrality in those corrections as Mr Geddes had apparently done himself, and whether he might, as a result, already have come to the view that a correct way of telling a story existed without any reference to possible cultural variables.

Whatever the impact of Mr Geddes' remarks', after two further lessons Abdul was able to present a second draft of his story, which was identical to the first draft except that it was correctly spelled, punctuated and paragraphed and that it contained fewer 'ands' and 'thens'. An extract of this second version is given as Figure 22.

Figure 22: Extract from the 'Corrected' Version of Abdul's Story

After half an hour, she said, 'I want to say something.'

I said, 'What is it?'

'How do I tell you? I can't tell you.'

I said, 'Go on. Tell me what it is.'

Then she said, 'I love you.'

Then I said, 'I love you too.'

Another day she and I went to the park. I said to her, 'Do you have any brothers?'

She said, 'Yes. I have one brother.'

I said, 'How old is he?'

She said, 'He's fifteen or sixteen. I'm not sure.'

Then I said, 'Have you got a sister?'

She said, 'No, I haven't.'

Then she asked me, 'Do you have any brothers or sisters?'

I said, 'Yes, I have one. I have one brother and three sisters.'

She said, 'How old are they?'

I said, 'My brother is twenty-five years old and one of my sisters is twenty. Another sister is twenty-one years old, and the other one is eighteen.'

Then she said, 'Are they married?'

Then I said, 'Yes, two are married and one is not married.'

Then she said, 'What about your brother?'

I said, 'My brother is married. He had two daughters and one son. Now he's only got two daughters because his son died.'

She said, 'Oh.'

This second draft was presented not to Abdul's class teacher but to Mr Geddes, who again sat beside Abdul to discuss further refinements with him before Abdul could proceed to Part 2 of his story.

What followed has already been touched on in Chapter Three of this thesis, as an example of what I have called cultural mismatch. That is to say, building on the stylistic 'corrections' begun in the marking of Abdul's first draft, Mr Geddes now sought to 'improve' Abdul's story by questioning its content, including the behaviour of its two central characters. (For a fuller account of Mr Geddes' marking, see Moore 1993a).

9.3 Further Corrections: Matters of Etiquette and Reality

As with the first draft of Abdul's work, Mr Geddes' criticisms of the second draft were of two related yet distinct kinds. First, there was a continuation of what appeared to be straightforward stylistic 'improvements', of the sort made with reference to the first draft:

Let's get rid of some of these 'I saids'/'she saids'/'he saids'. It sounds better, and we don't really need all of them anyway. The person reading it can usually work out who's talking... And maybe we can start to make some more interesting sentences. Like we could say here: 'I helped her off the bus and asked her if she could get home all right'. Also, I wonder if... maybe you could add a bit in here, between 'I love you too' and 'another day'... You know, like how you felt when you went away, and how you came to go to the park together. Maybe you were nervous asking her out... It just makes the story sound a bit better... more interesting for the reader.

As in Dalphinis's experience, Mr Geddes' second line of questioning related far more to the actual content of Abdul's story, and in particular to three specific points with which Mr Geddes was unhappy. These were:

the girl's and boy's professions of love, which, Mr Geddes told Abdul, happened too suddenly and too soon;

the boy's announcement of his nephew's death, which in Mr Geddes' view was "too matter-of-fact";

the long, detailed conversation about relatives, which was "not really how people talk to each other".

In relation to each of these points, Mr Geddes asked Abdul:

"Would the characters say this?"

"Is this how people talk?"

"Is this true-to-life?"

Abdul's reactions to Mr Geddes' criticisms - unnoticed or disregarded by the teacher - had not, however, been the same in each case. Abdul had, for instance, shrugged when asked about the realism of the first episode, but given a clear "yes" (ie. "it is true to life") when asked about the realism of the other two. I believe that this difference in response, however small and insignificant it may appear in transcript, is in fact very important and tells us something important about Abdul's own reality: the reality that was born of experience, that he carried in his own head. Thus, when he said Yes, it is true to life for the girl and boy to enter into such lengthy conversation about their relatives, or for the boy to have announced so bluntly (to Western ears) that his young nephew was dead, Abdul may have meant one of two things:

Yes, it is the kind of conversation that Bangladeshi youngsters might engage in in real life;

or

Yes, it is the kind of conversation that might be found in that other reality of Bangladeshi storytelling.

When Mr Geddes questioned these two episodes, he was, likewise, not merely saying

Western children do not actually talk to each other like this and therefore no children living in the West talk to each other like this;

but

One of the essences of good storytelling is to make your story as close to reality as possible, and any story that does not do this is, ipso facto, a poor story. Furthermore, the notion of reality is non-negotiable: it is, to put it bluntly, the same the whole world over. Just as there is a way or set of ways of talking to one another, so there is a way or set of ways of telling a story. You do not formally discuss relatives with a potential lover on your first meeting, either in real-life situations or in fictional ones; and if someone in the family dies, you do not talk about it as if it is just another aspect of living.

These were the ways, the conventions, the discourses that Mr Geddes had been brought up with and successfully initiated into (cf. Walkerdine 1982), and there appeared no question

in his mind but that these were the right ways, the right conventions, the right discourses. The possibility of linguistic diversity in the broadest sense, that embraced genre, perception and form - and that was plainly suggested by the whole-school policies Mr Geddes believed that he practised - seemed not on this occasion to have entered his consciousness. In short, for all Mr Geddes' anti-racist convictions, Abdul's alternative way of telling a story had been perceived by him as a deficient way of telling a story, and his pedagogy had been affected accordingly.

As for Mr Geddes' third criticism, related to the youngsters' mutual profession of love, Abdul's shrug suggested an uncertainty that was either not spotted or was deliberately passed over. On the one hand, Abdul had been asked to make his story true to life. On the other, when he had done just that - or thought he had done just that - he had seen his work criticised for its not being true to life. For his part, Mr Geddes may be seen as having made the same sort of criticisms as Dalphinis' teacher, quoted at the start of this chapter. Under the guise of concern for 'neutral' matters of style (themselves, arguably, not neutral at all: cf Bourdieu 1976), he was actually questioning his pupils' "normal reality".

10.4 Defining the Situation: Differing Notions of Complexity

I have referred to Mr Geddes' "apparently straightforward stylistic 'corrections'" to Abdul's work. How straightforward were these corrections, however, and, in particular, how straightforward were they for Abdul? If nothing else, Abdul's shrug invites us to explore these matters a little more closely, and to refer them back to the experiences and observations of Dalphinis.

Dalphinis, it will be remembered, felt that his teacher was "questioning the semantic content" of his work. She could not accept that a man would 'really' have fallen off a banana truck and cut his head open: Dalphinis had stretched the truth in a piece that was meant to be truthful; he had introduced an element of fantasy into an autobiographical piece of writing.

What happened in Abdul's case was, I believe, similar to Dalphinis's experience, but at the same time qualitatively different. One major difference lay in the nature of the task that had been set: that is to say, Abdul had been asked not to write autobiographically, but to write a piece of fiction. Not only that, but he had been asked to write a very particular kind of fiction, with its own very particular norms and conventions, and, being anxious to 'get on' in this subject and to improve his English through

practice, he had, with the teacher's gentle encouragement, opted to write that piece in his weaker language. Within that task, Abdul faced the additional task of having to introduce into his story direct speech, a notoriously difficult and culturally-variable 'sub-genre'. (For an analysis of the nature of direct and indirect speech in writing, and of their complexities and implications including their implications for ethnographic studies, see Volosinov 1973, pp.115-140.) Abdul had been told that this direct speech was to be 'naturalistic' (cf. Mrs Green's unspoken criterion vis-a-vis Nozrul's drawing) or 'true to life', but he also knew that he was writing a story, and would certainly have some understanding that stories are not 'life' but have their own particular conventions and 'realities'. Abdul's task was made yet more difficult, however, by the fact that he had not merely been asked to write a story in a particular style - which may well have varied from culture to culture - but that, effectively, he had also been asked to write a story about a style: that is to say, about a style - also variable from culture to culture - of courtship.

The above gives some indication as to why a task that was, from the teacher's perspective, relatively straightforward could, from the pupil's perspective, be extremely complex and problematic. In a task such as this, the differentiation of content from style is virtually impossible, since the

content is the style. When Mr Geddes criticised what Abdul's characters were saying to one another, he was simultaneously criticising the manner of their discourse - and, of course, the manner or 'style' of the story as a whole. Whether Abdul had responded by writing according to the rules of a genre of storytelling learned in his native Bangladesh, whether he had made an attempt at representing a genre or a 'realism' that was still relatively new to him, or whether he had sought some kind of middle course was not immediately inferable from the story itself or from subsequent discussions with the pupil. What was clear from interviews with this pupil, however, was that he had never, in the country of his birth, been asked to write a love story by a teacher as an important, examinable piece of work.

How did he set about dealing with this new experience? Clearly, one way he had set about it was to consider the models already presented to him in his new school, and to attempt to replicate features of these. His 'Once upon a time' opening might have represented something of a false start, but it may also be read as an indication of this student's adoption into his writing repertoire of new formulaic patterns that, for the time being, would sit side by side with existing ones - to modify Selinker's expression, an aspect of his current literary 'interlanguage' (Selinker 1972). As to whether, in a

Western European love story - or, indeed, in 'real' Western European cultural interaction - a girl does say "I love you" to a boy she has only just met, that is something Abdul might not yet have worked out. Certainly, it would have been a possibility. What, after all, does "I love you" mean? When Abdul shrugged at Mr Geddes' "Would she say 'I love you' just like that?", it may have been quite simply because he did not know. That is to say, he knew whether or not it was likely to happen in his own most familiar realities but was not so sure about those of his teacher. In response to that uncertainty, he appears to have brought his 'own' realities - that is to say, social etiquette and the etiquette of a particular genre of fiction (cf. Kress 1982) - to the story where they seemed to fit, and been told for his pains that he was wrong. Conversely, he may also have imported his own estimations of Mr Geddes' realities where they seemed to fit, and to have been told that this was also wrong. We could thus suggest that, as long as his teacher failed to address the notion of generic differences between languages and cultures (ie. differences of style or manner), Abdul was likely to remain trapped in the inevitability of getting his task wrong by the very nature of the task itself.

That Abdul did feel he had got his task wrong - and that this was the result of some internal deficiency on his part - is suggested by subsequent interactions between teacher

and pupil. Mr Geddes' ended his second session with Abdul by giving his pupil the following two instructions:

(1) Well, take it home with you, Abdul, think about what we've said, and see if you can make Part 1 any better.

(2) Also, you could make a start on Part 2. It's really good what you've done so far. I'm really looking forward to finding out how you and your girlfriend get on. Well done. Excellent work.

By the end of this lesson, Abdul had made no alterations to Part 1 of his story, nor had he started work on Part 2. Mr Geddes expressed his disappointment to Abdul and urged him not to let a potentially very good piece of work "slip away". Between them, they agreed that by the following lesson Abdul, normally a very hardworking pupil, would have produced some preliminary work on Part 2. This agreement was broken by Abdul. Soon, other pupils were making great demands on both teachers. The Easter holiday came and went. By the end of it, Abdul still had only the second draft of the first part of his story in his examination folder. The class teacher, Ms Montgomery, decided he had spent long enough on the project and it was officially abandoned. The story was never completed, nor, significantly, did Abdul attempt any other piece of writing that year in his English

class that was not simply copied out from a magazine or a book.

To say that Abdul may have given up on his story because it had been 'appropriated' by Mr Geddes through the sheer volume of his imposed 'corrections' offers a possible part explanation of this denouement (although we must beware, as in the case of Nozrul described in the previous chapter, of attributing too much too readily to the teacher's interventions). We should also be aware, however, that something even more worrying may have taken place, with, potentially, more serious and far-reaching consequences. When teachers tell their pupils "This is not true to life", they clearly mean "This is not true to my life". They equally clearly imply "My reality is right, yours is faulty; my way of representing reality is acceptable, yours needs improving". The poor self-image that such discourses can create in pupils is one that may never be shaken off. There is a very real danger that such pupils, when they are also new immigrants, will grow up not thinking "Yes, they do and see things differently here", but "Yes, they do and see things properly here" - and that consequently school-learning will always be that much more difficult for them: for it is surely easier to learn new ways that are set into existing frameworks, where they can co-exist with ways already learned, than it is to learn new ways that must replace old ones.

10.5 Policy and Practice: DUP and the Question of Genre

The question of the replication of genres raised in the previous section is a crucially important one, that needs to be re-examined in the light of both Common Underlying Proficiency theory (elaborated in Chapter Seven above) and what I have called Differential Underlying Proficiency. Such a re-examination is inevitably linked to another issue: How was it that an experienced, well-meaning teacher such as Mr Geddes came to make what could be perceived as very serious errors of judgement in his responses to his bilingual pupil's writing?

It would be easy to dismiss Mr Geddes as a poor or unthinking teacher. However, this was plainly not the case. Although his teaching of Abdul may at first glance appear haphazard or ill-informed, it was underpinned by a very consciously-held theoretical stance and by a genuine desire to do the best for his pupils. Reference has already been made to Mr Geddes' commitment to working with bilingual pupils in mainstream classrooms and to valuing and encouraging the use of their first languages as their second language skills developed - a view supported in the following observations, made in interview:

Of course they need to be in the mainstream classes: they need to read, listen to, and join in with the languages

and behaviours of their English peers - and they need that sort of audience and feedback for their work. They need to know, and deserve to know, that we're taking them seriously. [...] There's no reason why these children should not do every bit as well - and I'm talking unashamedly about public exams here, too - as if their first language was English.

(Mr Geddes in interview, September 1987)

In subsequent interviews, it transpired, however, that Mr Geddes was also familiar with - and a supporter of - Cummins' Common Underlying Proficiency theory, and that this was the very basis of his support for mainstream education for bilingual pupils and for encouraging the use of first languages in the classroom: that is to say, he believed that certain existing first-language skills were ultimately 'transferable' to second-language usage (Cummins 1984, already quoted).

This knowledge of and support for Cummins' work, which existed throughout the ESL Department at Company Road, has already been referred to (see Chapter Eight). What I want to suggest now is that it was - as with the BICS-CALP theory supported at Kursal Lane - only a partial or simplified adoption of Cummins' theory, however, and that in this respect it was fundamentally problematic. Specifically, I am

suggesting that it did not take account of those very aspects of language and culture, manifest in Abdul's writing and in Mr Geddes' reactions to it, that are variable and therefore not transferable: those aspects of a pupil's 'langue' (Lewis 1987) that are qualitatively different from parallel aspects of another person's.

In order to understand this, it is necessary first to acknowledge how useful a simplified version of Common Underlying Proficiency theory had been to many teachers at Company Road. First, it had given them some hope in what to many had seemed like a hopeless situation: the situation of finding oneself, as one teacher put it, "with pupils who don't seem to understand a word of what I say and who just sit there getting nothing at all out of the lessons". The notion that, even with bilingual pupils who had virtually no English at all, there might be some way in which they could benefit from being in English-taught lessons was a great source of comfort to many subject teachers that clearly contributed to their simply not 'abandoning' Stage 1 bilingual learners.

Second - and this, I believe, is where the problem resides - the notion of Common Underlying Proficiency could easily be incorporated into existing school structures and practices: that is to say, the adoption of CUP in its most simple variant did not require a radical rethink of either

curriculum content or 'delivery', nor did it challenge the criteria by which all children were assessed. A good story, for example, remained a good story - wherever and in whatever language it was written.

In terms of what this meant at Company Road as a whole, it could be said that CUP theory had promoted and supported the school's decision, already referred to, to provide first-language tuition for all its Bangladeshi pupils as part of the curriculum and through facilitating twilight sessions, and that it had helped foster an atmosphere in which - by teachers and by pupils - bilingualism could be perceived as a benefit rather than a handicap. On the other hand, by talking sweepingly of language 'transference' in terms that lumped together those skills which were readily transferable with those that were not, teachers ran two risks in relation to the teaching of their bilingual pupils.

The first of these risks was that teachers would ascribe equal value to different languages in the formal linguistic domain (Loveday 1982 op. cit.) at the expense of ascribing equal value in the domain of varying genres or styles (the functional domain): to use Lewis's (1987) 'langue-parole' interpretation, teachers like Mr Geddes would value what they perceived as their bilingual pupils' 'langues' - in this case, quite literally, their first languages, perceived in the superficial terms of basic syntax, vocabulary and so

on - but not necessarily their 'paroles'. Thus, in the case we have examined, Abdul may have been given space in school to study his own strongest language (Bengali) three periods a week as one of his optional subjects, but there was no room outside the Bengali classroom for the diversity of style and form of that language from the forms and styles of (middle-class) English. Thus, in Bengali lessons Abdul's storytelling style could win the approval of his teacher; in English, where things were done differently, it did not. It could be argued that in this way the actual marginalisation of Bengali was, unwittingly, confirmed.

(In an interesting but undeveloped remark during the course of interview, one of the ESL teachers at Company Road observed: "Multiculturalism has never got as far as valuing the plurality of genres" - and it is precisely this kind of langue-parole differential that I believe he had in mind. See also Willis's observation, 1977 p.178, in relation to 'progressivism' in education, that changes in education have neither brought about nor been caused by any "real shift in basic philosophies": also Bourdieu's claim, 1976 p.115, that changes in education systems tend to be "morphological", affecting "nothing essential", and Bruner's observation, 1976 p. 114, that "educational reform confined only to the schools and not to the society at large is doomed to eventual triviality".)

The second risk - which is, effectively, a result of the first - was that of interpreting culture-based generic variations, that is to say, those variations which reside within the area of 'Differential Underlying Proficiency', as linguistic or cognitive deficiencies.

This last point is worth pursuing, since it suggests an important parallel with Cummins' BICS-CALP theory, and in particular with the particular variant of this theory that was supported at Kursal Lane. Cummins, it will be remembered, expresses concern that bilingual pupils are often misdiagnosed academically because of false and limited notions of how they perform linguistically: specifically, fluency in 'everyday' conversational contexts might mislead the teacher into treating subsequent 'retardation' in the academic context as a sign of cognitive deficiency, rather than re-evaluating the linguistic basis upon which initial pupil expectations were based (Cummins 1984, pp.130-31: see also Chapter Seven above). This, as we have seen, leads Cummins to propose a distinction between two kinds of language - 'Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills' (BICS) and 'Cognitive-Academic Language Proficiency' (CALP)- which I have already criticised (Chapter Seven above) as being inadequate and potentially misleading descriptions.

What I am arguing now is that part of the deficiency in Cummins' BICS-CALP theory, and in the incomplete version

that was adopted at Kursal Lane, is inextricably interwoven with the difficulties inherent in the way in which Cummins' notion of Common Underlying Proficiency was taken on at Company Road: that is, it revolves around an inherent deficiency in the notion of CALP itself. I am suggesting that in order for the BICS-CALP dichotomy to be useful for teachers - as gauged from any consequent usefulness for their pupils - Cognitive-Academic Language Proficiency needs to be perceived not merely as the 'other half' of an overall linguistic skill of which BICS makes up the remainder, but that it needs to embrace the notion of Differential Underlying Proficiency, specifically by tackling the notion of generic difference. This requires an appreciation that the cognitive-academic language skills required by bilingual pupils are not necessarily 'new skills' in the sense of belonging to a higher developmental order (older pupils in particular may well have already developed high levels of proficiency in CALP in schools they attended in their countries of birth): rather, they include, centrally, the adoption of - or initiation into - new discourses which are only more 'difficult' than known ones in that they require 'knowing about' and 'experience in'.

The teacher's role then becomes one of recognising cultural-discursive differences and appropriately responding by helping pupils to extend their repertoires⁵: a pedagogic approach which needs to take account of the notions of

"additive bilingualism" (Lambert 1967) and "additive multiculturalism" (Triandis 1980) - that is, the acquisition by the bilingual learner not of total expertise in all the forms and styles of a second language and culture at the possible expense of the first, but the acquisition of those forms and styles that will be of special use and value. In order for such an approach to happen, teachers will themselves need to effect a re-orientation that, apparently, Mr Geddes and Mrs Green could not: that is to say, to distance themselves sufficiently from their own cultural norms and preferences for them to become 'visible', on the basis that only then will inter-cultural differences become visible. To quote Hammersley and Atkinson, we could say that Mr Geddes, despite his good intentions, had failed to perceive his own culture as anything but a reflection of "'how the world is' [...] not conscious of the fundamental assumptions, many of which are distinctive to that culture, that shape [his] vision." (Hammersley & Atkinson 1983, p.8. See also Schutz, 1964, who writes about the ways in which people live inside their own cultures.)

Were Mr Geddes and Mrs Green, however, condemned to this 'invisibility'? And, if not, what steps might they have taken to effect such a re-orientation? It is to these questions that I shall devote the remainder of this thesis.

CHAPTER ELEVEN: EXTENDING REPERTOIRES

11.1 Art with Mrs Endersley

In the room adjacent to Mrs Green's, another teacher, Mrs Endersley, taught Art. Mrs Endersley also had a large number of recently-arrived bilingual pupils in her younger classes, none of whom were 'absolute beginners' but none of whom had been in England for more than a year.

Like Mrs Green, Mrs Endersley was familiar with and supported the school's policy for the Arts, including those elements which related specifically to bilingual pupils. Also like Mrs Green, she had, by her own admission, read very little else on the subject of Art Education since finishing her initial teacher education course fifteen years previously. Despite these similarities, however, there existed a clear difference between both the educational diagnoses and the pedagogical orientations of these two teachers - a difference already voiced by Mrs Endersley in informal discussion before I had entered her classroom, in terms very reminiscent of another Art teacher I had interviewed (see 8.3 above), who had talked of "adding skills and approaches to the ones [the bilingual children] already have" rather than adopting a policy of "replacement or 'correction'":

With the Bangladeshi children, and the Arab-speakers, I try to bring in to the classroom plenty of books on Muslim art. I always have them around the classroom... In the early stages, I encourage a lot of pattern work and design, and stuff involving manipulation, like paper-work. We do figure-drawing and still life and compositions too, and gradually they see what's required to get on - often from the other children. You can't force them. They have to make the transition in their own time.

[...]

They still do the design stuff too. That's important, isn't it. You don't want to make them think that what they're doing was wrong: just that what they have to do here involves different skills and styles sometimes. There's a place here for symbolism: in design, for instance. But to do well in Art in Western European societies they've got to be good at the naturalistic painting and drawing too.

I visited Mrs Endersley's year 7 class the day after my visit to Mrs Green's, initially for purposes of comparison. When I mentioned that I was specifically interested in the social and academic development of the school's Bangladeshi pupils, Mrs Endersley expressed an immediate interest:

Mrs E: Some of these kids go on to be real stars. . . .

[...]

AM: I've noticed that one boy in another [year 7] class draws very symbolically. His figure-drawing looks like a five- or six-year old's.

Mrs E: I know. It's probably because they just don't do any figure-drawing in Bangladesh. It may have something to do with religion. Naturalistic figure drawing isn't their thing... It's just not done... Here, they're probably being asked to do it for the first time in their lives. Obviously, it takes time. Some of them haven't actually been asked to draw a thing in their life. I know that, from what the older ones tell you. When it comes to design, and things like string-work and paper-folding, it's a different story: they leave some of the English kids streets behind.

Mrs Endersley made it clear that her notion of what made a "real star" included, centrally, the ability to reproduce the artistic genres favoured by her own Western European culture, and some measure of success in a public examination system designed principally to test expertise in such expressive forms. In this respect, she found herself in

accord with the views of Mrs Green. There was a fundamental difference, however, in the two teachers' assessments of their Bangladeshi pupils' initial 'poor performance', which resulted in different expectations of such pupils and a different manner of operating. Whereas Mrs Green had perceived the issue as an exclusively developmental one, for example, Mrs Endersley perceived it more in terms of cultural differences and, in particular, of differences in learning experience in the Sylhet and in Great Britain. In her view, if pupils could not do naturalistic figure-drawing it was more likely because they had had no experience of such drawing than that they were artistically or perceptually deficient. (See also Atkinson 1991 and Taber 1978 & 1981, both quoted in Chapter Nine above.)

The lesson of Mrs Endersley's that I had come to observe involved the pupils' drawing outlines of fish which they then had to decorate by printing on to the paper with small pieces of horseshoe-shaped or circular rubber dipped into paint. The completed fish would be cut out and become part of a larger, collectively-produced piece of work depicting an underwater scene and covering a large section of the classroom wall. The background to this scene had already been painted by the pupils, working together, on to an appropriate-sized area of plain paper. Pupils had used a combination of their own imaginations and memories and

pictures and photographs brought in by the teacher as references for this initial task.

At the start of the lesson, Mrs Endersley reminded the class that their fish were to be glued on to the background at some future date, and explained how she wanted them to go about producing their fish. She had a photograph of a goldfish, which she showed to all the children. She explained to the whole class exactly what she wanted them to do:

I want you to draw a fish - probably just the basic shape first - then decorate it using a combination of printing and brushing. The pieces of rubber ought to help create the look of scales. You can use whatever colours you like and you can choose the size of your fish and how it's swimming. Try to be as imaginative as possible. We don't want to end up with lots of fish all the same.

She carefully explained what 'scales' were, and pointed to examples of string-printing on the wall in an explanation of the term 'printing'. When she had finished explaining to the whole class, she moved to the group of six Bangladeshi children in the class and explained again exactly what she wanted, using elaborate gestures to help. The word 'scales' caused some initial puzzlement to this group, and Mrs Endersley was at pains to get across to them this key

concept in what they were about to do. She asked them to imagine an invisible fish in her hand, then rubbed her other hand one way along it, eliciting the word 'soft', the other way to elicit the words 'not soft'. Still unsure whether these children had understood, she employed her class register as a visual aid, stroking the edges of the pages one way to denote 'soft' and 'smooth', the other way to denote 'rough'. When she was happy that all the children knew what to do, she asked them to begin their project.

I focussed my observations on the small group of Bangladeshi pupils, and on a Tanzanian boy, Bharat, who sat and worked with them¹. After having moved about the room to ascertain what other, monolingual pupils in the class were doing, these pupils all quickly drew their fish in outline. However, with the exception of Bharat, they appeared displeased with their efforts. One boy, Shahir, was obviously acutely embarrassed by his drawing and worried that I should be there to observe it. As his drawing developed, he attempted to conceal it from me and the other children by placing his arm over it and turning the paper over. The boy sitting next to him, Shahid, had a different worry: that I might be writing "bad things" about them in the form of a report - and he communicated this fear to Shahir. Shahir immediately began to draw a second fish on the back of the one he had already started. A third boy, Zakir, said "I can't draw" when I tried to see his fish,

while Shahir, equally displeased with his second attempt, tried to hide the new drawing from my eyes while simultaneously erasing it.

When the initial drawings were finished, Mrs Endersley showed the class how to decorate them, including how to print on scales, and the pupils proceeded with phase two of the project. Bharat's fish was, to the Western European eyes of both Mrs Endersley and myself, outstanding both in conception and in technique. It had fins and gills, and he had put on the scales with a slight sweeping movement of his hand, quite deliberately to suggest movement through water and the direction in which the scales lay. Shahir's fish, by contrast, was less naturalistic and less immediately impressive to our eyes: a sort of aerial view that was as heavily symbolic as had been Nozrul's drawing of the clown, and that, when inverted, had the appearance of a chef wearing a chef's hat (Figure 23).

By the end of the lesson, most of the pupils had progressed with their pictures to a point nearing completion. The Bangladeshi children were clearly still not pleased by their efforts, especially Shahir, whose drawing disappeared only to be discovered by another pupil in the wastepaper bin. This episode took up five minutes at the end of the lesson during the class's clearing-up time, mostly on the discovery

that the work was missing, Shahir's refusal to explain what had happened to it, and its retrieval by another boy, Rafi.

There was no time to discuss this incident with Mrs Endersley, who had another class immediately afterwards; however, I was left with a feeling that for all the differences in approach and philosophy between herself and Mrs Green the end effect as far as Shahir was concerned may have been very little different from that experienced by Nozrul: like Nozrul, like all the other Bangladeshi boys in the class, Shahir, from Shahir's point of view, was bad at Art.

Figure 23: Copy of Shahir's Fish



(The pupil's original drawing was unavailable. The above is a copy made by the researcher at the time of the observation.)

If I had only visited the one lesson, this feeling might well have endured. However, I decided to visit both Mrs

Endersley's and Mrs Green's classes again the following week, and in the light of these subsequent visits was moved towards a different conclusion.

11.2 Diagnosis and Pedagogy

Only minutes before my second visit to Mrs Endersley's class, Mrs Endersley came looking for me in the staff room, full of apologies for "what happened in the lesson last week". Indicating that I must think her "an awful fraud", she explained that she had been nervous on that occasion because of the suddenness of my visit, and felt that the lesson had not been typical. She had, in particular, been as concerned about Shahir's obvious loss of confidence as I had, and had taken steps during the intervening period to try to put this right:

Mrs E: I should never have showed them the fish [used in the demonstration] the way I did. It suggested that was the kind of fish I wanted, the way I wanted it drawn. I should have had other examples. I also should have been more positive about Shahir's drawing, instead of just smiling at it the way I did. I've been looking out some more fish pictures that I'm taking in today for them to look at.

I had not been aware until now of Mrs Endersley's initial response to Shahir's drawing. My impression, however, was that the lack of varied exemplars had probably been the more influential factor, and I was interested to see whether the presentation of these would bring about any change in Shahir's attitude to his work.

At the start of the second lesson, Mrs Endersley explained very carefully to the class that she hoped a variety of fish would be produced, and that there was no 'right' way of drawing a fish, only "a number of different ways". To illustrate this, she showed the class the various fish pictures she had brought in. These included naturalistic pictures from books on tropical and freshwater fish, Matisse's more symbolic 'Still Life With Goldfish', a range of fish drawn and painted by pupils in other classes, a depiction of fish in a pond taken from an ancient Egyptian tomb in Thebes, and a drawing of Mrs Endersley's own that showed possible influences from both Picasso and Shahir.

While the children resumed their tasks - in most cases continuing work on the fish they had already started the week before - Mrs Endersley expressed to me her regrets that she had been unable to locate any "decent fish pictures" from Islamic art:

There's no shortage of birds, but for some reason fish don't seem to figure very much at all. Not in the books I looked at, anyway. Perhaps on reflection it was wrong to choose an underwater scene in the first place. Maybe an air or forest scene would have been better².

By the end of the lesson, the children had all either completed their fish or come very near to completion, and some of these had been placed on the sheets of paper that would form the backdrop to the finished project, marking their positions with a small cross and their name. Shahir had not quite finished, but he had copied out his original fish drawing on to a fresh sheet of paper and was colouring it in with the aid of paint and a piece of horseshoe-shaped rubber. When I asked him to tell me about his drawing, his response was in marked contrast to the previous week's. First, I had no need to approach him to ask to see his fish: today, he brought it to me to show me. Second, there existed none of the embarrassed self-consciousness of the previous lesson. This time, Shahir seemed relatively pleased with his drawing, to the extent that I could detect a certain affection towards it:

Sir, Bangladesh fish, sir. Very nice... We have this fish... This good fish, sir. You like my fish? It's very nice.

Soon, Shahir's fish would be on display with all the other fish.

11.3 Cultural Capital and the Bilingual Student

Whatever else we might say about Shahir's experiences in Art in his new school, it is hard to dispute that his introduction into this subject was, on balance, more positive than that of Nozrul, and that his own self-image was likely to be more positive as a result. He would, like Nozrul, have become aware of certain key differences between ways of representing things in his new country and ways of representing things that came more 'naturally' to him; but he had not, like Nozrul, been led by his teacher to believe that the new ways were superior to his own.

Burns writes:

Pupils who have successfully negotiated their first five years may encounter problems in school if their previous experience has not equipped them with the concepts, values and behaviours necessary for success in the classroom.

(Burns 1982 p.203 - my emphasis)

Much has been written elsewhere about the necessity for children to achieve expertise in the various genres, forms and behaviour-patterns valued by their schools if they are to have any chance of being perceived there as successes, and of the fact that some children, notably indigenous middle-class children whose home tastes, values and social and learning conventions are most likely to match those of the educational establishments they attend, come to school initially better equipped in this respect than others (see especially Kress 1982, Tizard and Hughes 1984, and Brice Heath 1983).

In the case of children arriving in school in a new country - that is to say, precisely the children we have been looking at - it is not unreasonable to suppose that the gap between home and school values and conventions may be particularly wide, regardless of social class³, and may indeed appear wider for older than for younger children. At one end of this particular spectrum, younger natives will bring with them 'home' values and experience of social and learning conventions which may reflect or contradict those they will encounter in the school environment; at the other end, older non-natives are likely to bring not only 'home' values and conventions but, crucially, considerable experience of social and learning conventions in a school situation - that is to say, in the school or schools they attended before migrating.

One possible effect of this is that such children may already think they know how to succeed 'in school', and bring with them clear but mistaken notions of their new school's expectations and values. These expectations and values must confront their new teachers' own visible and invisible notions of what appropriate school behaviour comprises. To borrow Bourdieu's (1977) terminology, such pupils may have brought with them 'cultural capital' that was of value in the country of their birth but which, in the absence of any existing exchange rate, is quite worthless in the country to which they have moved (cf. Bourdieu 1977, pp. 71-106). (See also Levine's observation that bilingual pupils may be "bemused by their lack of success in English schools, coming as they may have done from successful school careers elsewhere": Levine 1981, p.27.)

Such a possibility has clear implications in the classroom for 'defining situations', for reaching understanding or agreement (cf. Habermas 1984 pp.284-7), for the notion of Common Underlying Proficiency, and, ultimately, for the ways in which bilingual pupils are assessed and taught. If, for example, a pupil has been taught in school to look away from an authority figure when being spoken to (cf. **Chapter Three, Note 5** above) and yet finds herself being chastised in school for doing so; if she is instructed in school to draw a human figure, having been already instructed in school that, under no circumstances whatever, is she to do such a

thing; if she has been taught in school to write a story in a particular way and is now told in school that such a way is wrong, she may well wonder - especially if she is simultaneously told that it is all right for her to reproduce some of her thoughts in the language she knows best - what precisely is happening and whether there can ever be any possibility of shared meanings and understandings between her teachers and herself.

This potentially very confusing situation is one that Mrs Endersley had apparently recognised and that Mrs Green had apparently not; and it can be argued that this initial difference in perception had a crucial effect on what followed. We could say that each teacher had effectively analysed similar data from a different perspective, arrived at a particular conclusion or set of conclusions, and then adopted a pedagogy best suited in their eyes to the analysis that they had made: that one had succeeded in 'distancing' herself, and the other had not.

In Bourdieu's terms, we could say that Mrs Green had treated, in what she called her "more able pupils", a "social gift" as if it were a "natural" one (Bourdieu 1976). Embracing the "ideology of giftedness" (1976, p.115), she had diagnosed in such pupils an inherent "ability" to complete (in her words) the "intrinsically very difficult task" of naturalistic drawing. The obverse of this was that

pupils who "could not" draw naturalistically were, in her view, inherently deficient. Mrs Endersley, by contrast, had perceived the successful completion of such tasks in cultural - we could say, sociological - terms. That is to say, the skills required successfully to complete such tasks were not intrinsically more difficult than those required in, say, pattern work or symbolic drawing: they were, like any other skills, skills that had to be acquired - and, in the case of 'successful' pupils, already had been acquired - over a period of time within a specific cultural context. They were skills which had - very fortunately from the point of view of those who possessed them - been arbitrarily invested with high status in the formal educational setting.

That both teachers worked in the same school, followed the same syllabuses, and perceived themselves as subscribing to the same broad educational philosophies, including those enshrined in the school's whole-school policies, had made no difference.

11.4 Mashud and Ms Montgomery

Another teacher at Company Road who could be said to have approached her bilingual pupils in the same sorts of way as Mrs Endersley was Ms Montgomery, who had been the main English teacher for Abdul's class (see Chapter Ten). In

addition to Abdul's class, Ms Montgomery had taught another year 10 group in which there was a Bangladeshi pupil called Mashud. This particular English class had not been allocated a support teacher, but in my work with Ms Montgomery over the main period of the research project this was a role I had unofficially come to fill myself. Ms Montgomery and I worked very closely together, both on planning lessons and in our teaching and assessment. Mashud and the other pupils in the class had consequently come to look on us both as their English teachers, and were equally likely to ask either of us for assistance. Indeed, in this respect the following case study may, unlike those previously presented, be viewed as a piece of action research. (See, for example, Elliott 1983, McNiff 1988.)

By the beginning of his second year at the school, at which time this study was carried out, Mashud had made steady if unremarkable progress in English, despite having received a good deal of out-of-class language tuition as well as some in-class language support. His handwriting still bore strong traces of the Bengali script, which made it difficult to read; he still attempted to spell many words and combinations of words - often misheard in the first instance - by a patchily-successful use of phonetics; his attempts at replicating English grammatical structures were developing slowly; and he had only a scanty knowledge of English punctuation. He did, however, write copiously and

enthusiastically, if, as we shall see, not yet with any variety, and in this respect his written work was more impressive than his oral work.

Very early on, Ms Montgomery had singled Mashud out as a particularly interesting and promising pupil. In addition to his oral reticence (in both L1 and L2) and copious flaws at the surface level of his writing, his work had a particular idiosyncrasy in that whenever he was set creative writing - or even discursive writing - assignments, he produced heavily formulaic fairy-story-style moral tales which were apparently - according to information volunteered by other Sylheti pupils in the class - translations of stories he had learned in his native tongue⁴.

This idiosyncrasy had been noted by both Ms Montgomery and myself, as well as by Mashud's English teacher from the previous year. It was Ms Montgomery, however, who formulated a first attempt to account for it, at one of our weekly planning meetings half way through the Autumn term:

Mashud seems to have a background where making up stories is not so highly valued... not nearly as much as learning moral tales. I suppose that must have something to do with his culture... if it's more strongly oral-based than our own... or even with the sorts of dangers in Bangladesh, which are maybe more predictable, and located

more in the natural environment than they are here: you know, a lot of his stories are to do with snakes and flooding rivers and poisoning... and maybe certain social issues are more clear-cut. I don't know... I don't know enough about it, really... Here, on the other hand, making up your own stories and writing them down is a very highly valued activity. I don't think Mashud has quite made that transition yet... You know, he's still operating mentally in one culture and sometimes linguistically in another... if that makes any sort of sense.

Despite her confession "not to know enough" about this issue, Ms Montgomery clearly had known enough at least not to dismiss Mashud's idiosyncrasy as a problem of cognitive-linguistic origin, or to attribute it, as some teachers might have done, to unsureness or insecurity. She had asked herself questions about Mashud's cultural-linguistic background - questions which nobody had invited her to ask - and had reached in the process a tenable hypothesis on which we could structure future pedagogy. That pedagogy could subsequently be interrogated itself as a way of evaluating the hypothesis. We could say that what Ms Montgomery had done was to attempt to explain a phenomenon rather than merely to describe it, and that, like Mrs Endersley, she had done this through a process of 'distancing' herself (cf. Bartle-Jenkins 1980), not only

from her pupil's culture but from the normally 'invisible' assumptions and preferences of her own culture (assumptions and preferences that are perceived as 'natural', such as the assumption that a 'good' story is a good story wherever it is told and that the criteria for assessing it are likewise universal, including background detail, rounded characterisation and so on).

Regardless of the possible impact of her pedagogy on Mashud's development, Ms Montgomery's attempt at a rational, non-deficit explanation of this pupil's written work had the immediate effect of opening up a questioning, sympathetic discourse which at future meetings would enable other related issues to be recognised, discussed and tackled in a manner far better planned and informed than had hitherto been the case. At a subsequent weekly meeting, for instance, the question of Mashud's "essentially oral" culture resurfaced, this time finding its focus in the structure of his narratives. Coincidentally, I had just been re-reading Ong's 'Orality and Literacy' (Ong 1982), and I told Ms Montgomery that it had reminded me of her comments at our earlier meeting:

AM: I wonder, you know, if you're remembering stories for repetition, if you're likely to order them in a particular way: also, to cut out... not adjectives as such; they could have an important function...

but - a lot of what we would call "background detail".

Ms M: All that description and "characterisation" stuff... Yes... I suppose you could be right. It would in a sense be irrelevant, wouldn't it. I mean, the moral would be the important thing... not what kind of day it was, less still what mood people were in... None of that so-called realism or naturalism that we're so into... That could all just be so much clutter...[And y]ou'd tell the story or whatever chronologically: that would be the tendency.

[...]

It's fascinating. When you think about it, there could be the most enormous gap between what Mashud has been brought up to value in narratives and what we're telling him he should be valuing.

It has to be said that neither Ms Montgomery nor I knew enough about Bangladeshi or Sylheti story-telling traditions to be able to expound with any degree of confidence on the cause of Mashud's particular way of going about things. The key to our future pedagogy, however, and therefore to Mashud's immediate prospects in this subject, lay in Ms

Montgomery's very wise recognition that "there could be the most enormous gap between what Mashud has been brought up to value in narratives and what we're telling him he should be valuing" - a gap not evidently recognised by Mr Geddes in his work with Abdul, where the assumption was of an accord between Abdul's 'first culture's' evaluations of stories and those of his 'second culture'. This recognition of Ms Montgomery's effectively marked the point at which she and I were able to distance ourselves from what we had been involved in in the classroom, and make visible procedures and preferences in our own shared culture that we had hitherto both taken for granted. It also resulted, inevitably, in a qualitatively different way of looking at what Mashud was writing.

11.5 Organising Learning According to Pupils' Needs

During the course of our next lesson with Mashud, Ms Montgomery and I found ourselves looking very carefully at the structure of his stories to see if they actually did have the essentially additive structure one might associate with a more oracy-oriented culture, rather than the subordinative style favoured by our own society (Ong 1982: see also Chapter Ten above). We decided that they did, but recognised that the same data we had used to arrive at this conclusion might also be used in support of an argument that Mashud had merely reached a certain developmental 'stage'

in his writing and in support of a consequent diagnosis that his writing was simply deficient. The stories were, for example, unwaveringly linear in style, with events presented in strict chronological order and regular, frequent use made of the conjunction 'and' to link both sentences and information - in much the same way as Abdul's story had been.

At the same time, we began to re-identify our task and strategy vis-a-vis Mashud and the other Bangladeshi students in the class, away from working mainly on the surface features of their written language, towards initiating them into the kinds of spoken and written discourses or genres they would need expertise in if they were to be perceived of as 'successful' in British society (see also Kress 1982): a change of perspective, we might say, but with the same educational goals in mind. This initiation would have to be effected without any devaluation of the kinds of discourse these students were already proficient in - for instance, the retelling of moral tales - or suggesting that ours was the 'right' way of doing things, theirs the 'wrong': that is to say, to return to a theme already introduced in this section of the thesis, a model of repertoire extension rather than of correction-and-replacement. Surface-feature corrections of these pupils' work would continue, in a carefully and fully explained way: however, this help would be perceived by ourselves -

and, we hoped, by our students - as qualitatively different from the other help we sought to give.

Emergent skills that we would be looking for in Mashud's writing included creative redrafting⁵; subordination; the description of unique events; the reporting of conversations, expressed in direct or indirect speech; and the introduction of characters' feelings and motives. If we responded appropriately, Mashud would, we hoped, learn something of what was valued in expressive writing in his new school, and how that was different from - though no better than - what he may have learned to value at school in Bangladesh. It was Ms Montgomery's plan to facilitate this new approach by selecting an autobiography project for the whole class to work at over a period of several weeks. This project, while being of relevance and interest to the whole class, would, she felt, be particularly useful for Mashud since it would provide an opportunity for him to write from his own experience while at the same time incorporating moral tales into his writing in ways that seemed appropriate to him.

Having set up the project by reading and discussing a range of autobiographical and pseudo-autobiographical writings with the whole class, including works by Angelou (1984), Dickens (1966), Joyce (1924), and Wright (1988), Ms

Montgomery got her pupils to begin writing their own life-stories from birth up to the present day.

11.6 Mashud's Life Story: Investigating the Pupil's Reality

An example of Mashud's initial approach to his task, and of Ms Montgomery's response to it, is reproduced in the following extract taken from transcripts of discussions between them after Mashud had produced a first draft of his project, which he had entitled "My Life Story" (for a fuller account, see Moore 1991 pp.238-9). Ms Montgomery had decided to use these sessions both to correct surface and vocabulary errors in Mashud's work and to discuss its content with him. In particular, she wanted to encourage him to extend the length of his assignment, which was longer than anything he had previously written - a little under a thousand words - but still on the short side considering the nature of the project and the wealth of experience on which he had to draw.

DIALOGUE 18

(Discussion between Ms Montgomery and Mashud of part of Mashud's first draft, describing being chased by a 'cow'.)

Ms M: Tell me about this cow.

M: Miss (laughing) cow hit me.

Ms M: It hit you?

M: Yes, Miss.

Ms M: Like this? (Raising hand and aiming an imaginary swipe.)

M: (Laughing) Miss! Like this. (Putting fingers to head like horns and using them to 'butt' the boy next to him, who, listening, also laughs.) In the lands...

Ms M: The lands? What are the lands?

M: Where is cow, Miss. Four cows in our lands my family.

Ms M: Lands... I think we would say 'fields'. So you had four cows in your field?

M: Field?

Ms M: (Writing it down on Mashud's paper) Field.

M: Four cows, Miss. (Laughing) One cow... bad; very, very bad.

Ms M: It chased you.

M: (Excited) Chase! Yes, Miss. I very scared....

Ms M: And it hit you?

M: Yes, Miss. Bad... very, very bad.

Discussions such as these are not held up as exemplary: partly because of 'tradition', partly because of Mashud's lack of confidence and expertise in spoken English, they fell broadly into the well-documented IRF pattern of classroom discourse described by Sinclair & Coulthard (1975) and critically interrogated in Part Two of this thesis. (See also Bruner 1986 and Edwards & Mercer 1987). However, there were characteristics of these conversations that made them qualitatively very different from the discussions between, for example, Abdul and Mr Geddes referred to in the previous chapter.

To begin with, Ms Montgomery had not followed Mr Geddes' example of questioning her pupil's reality ("This doesn't sound true."; "Would it really have happened like this?"; and so on): rather, her aim had been to discover more of

what that reality was, and at the same time to teach new vocabulary that would be of use to Mashud when he wished or needed to express that same reality in the future.

Furthermore, Ms Montgomery's questions were also genuine questions, designed to elicit information: not disguised statements or judgements, as in the case of Abdul and Mr Geddes. (See, too, Edwards & Mercer 1987 on 'cued elicitation', referred to in Chapter Five above, in which the teacher apparently seeks not information but the 'right answer'.) Her questions were designed to focus Mashud's attention on what he was writing, and led him to consider additional, related material. While Ms Montgomery had made abundant surface-corrections to Mashud's work⁶, she had made no effort yet to persuade him to add or to delete anything, merely made the suggestion that "Ramadan sounds very interesting; you must tell me about that some time."

11.7 Helpful Strategies

When Mashud had finished his second draft, using the work 'corrected' by Ms Montgomery along with some more he had added, including a section on Ramadan, he showed it again to his teacher, who first made surface-feature corrections to the added material and then offered her opinion on the work as a whole:

Ms M: Good. That's very good work, Mashud.

M: No, Miss. Short - too short.

Ms M: Well... Perhaps you can add a bit? What else do you think you could write about? Let's have a look at what you've got so far.

Together, Mashud and Ms Montgomery re-examined Mashud's project, Ms Montgomery sitting beside Mashud reading while he followed. A flavour of this second draft is given in **Figure 24** below, which presents five extracts in chronological sequence. These are 'corrected' versions of Mashud's work, but basically the words are his: that is to say, he had essentially put down these words in this order. Ms Montgomery's corrections to date had been almost exclusively cosmetic, focussing on spelling, grammar and odd points of vocabulary, though there had also been some input on what we might call style in small, localised changes of word-order. A flavour of Mashud's original draft is given, for the purposes of comparison, as **Figure 25**.

Figure 24: Extracts from Mashud's Autobiography ('Corrected')

1. My Life Story, by Mashud.

I was born in Bangladesh in war-time. The war started in 1971, the year of my birth. Before that,

Bangladesh was East Pakistan. Then they had a big war and Pakistan spread into three parts. One is in India, another Bangladesh, another Pakistan. I don't really know much about it because I was just born at that time. My mum told me about it.

2. We had four cows. One day school was closed and I was looking after the cows. Suddenly, someone came up behind me and showed a piece of red cloth to the cow. The cow started chasing me. I was running. The cow pushed me with its horns and I went rolling down the hill. I was shocked and hurt in my chest. It took me months to get well.
3. Sometimes after school everyone goes home for dinner, and after that, when the sun goes down, all the boys come out into the fields to play football and other games. It's nice fun every afternoon, except Saturday - because every Saturday we have a market just beside our house. It's our own market, and we also have our own chemist and a small sweet-shop.

I have two uncles, one in Bangladesh and one in England, and I also have two brothers and a sister in Bangladesh.

Once, in my primary school, we held a competition like a wrestling match, and I was in it. I had a big guy against me. I couldn't handle him at all. He was too strong for me and so big. There were a lot of people around and I didn't know what to do, I was so shy and scared. Suddenly he jumped on my ankle and broke it! I was at home about three months. I can still remember how my ankle hurt.

4. At Ramadan my parents used to fast until 2.30 p.m. to 9.00 a.m. I used to fast some time if I could, but I couldn't very much. I got too hungry. My parents slept most of the time to use the time up. I used to get some mangoes and jackfruit for them and wash it for them. Ramadan lasts one month. After Ramadan we celebrate. The day we celebrate is called EID. On that day we get new clothes and extra food and we go to our cousins' and friends' houses and have nice fun. On that day we can do anything we want to do.

5. Another day, before the summer holiday, we had a sports day. We played badminton, volleyball, cricket and throwing heavy stones. There was so many people in the field. I was playing badminton. We had great fun.

(For a complete transcription of this version, see Moore 1993a.)

**Figure 25: Extract from First Draft of Mashud's
Autobiography**

I was bo Banladesh and ther was a war the war strat in 1971 that year I was bon. before Bangladesh was East Pakistan then ther had big war and Pakistan sprede in three parte. one is India and alther is Bangladesh and Pakistan, I do'nt really no much about it becace i was just bor that time, my mum told me.

[...]

We had four cows. one days school close and I looking after the cows suddenle, someone come up after me and should a peece of red clouth to the cow. the cow strated chaseing me I was run the cow push me with it's horn and

I when roling down the hill. I shokt and hurt pane in my chest. it tolke month to be better.

When Ms Montgomery had finished reading Mashud's new draft through with him, she returned immediately to his doubts about its length:

DIALOGUE 19

Ms M: Well, what else could you say?

M: (Shrugs)

Ms M: How about something more about the things you did with your friends? The wrestling match was interesting. What other things did you do?

M: Yes, Miss.

Ms M: Also, you haven't said anything about your life in England. You could write a bit about that: what it's like here for you.

M: Cold, Miss.

Ms M: (Laughs) Yes... Cold... Well, you could say that. What else could you say?

M: (Shrugs)

Ms M: Well, you think about it. Write down more bits on a separate sheet of paper and then show it to me.

Mashud seemed happy with Ms Montgomery's advice. He took a sheet of paper from the teachers' desk and spent the rest of the lesson writing busily. Next lesson, he presented Ms Montgomery with two more sections, her 'corrected' versions of which are shown in Figure 26.

Figure 26: Additions to Mashud's Autobiography

1. One time, our Sunday school was closed, and I called for some friends. We decided to go hunting, for a fox or for birds. So each one of us got a spear and we went through the jungle shouting, screaming and running. Our noise scared away all the foxes. If there was one, it would run. But suddenly one small fox just jumped out of a hole and ran away, and we all ran after it. We couldn't kill it, but it was good fun.

In the winter-time in our country, it's not very cold like in England. If we have to wear a jumper, that's winter! And in winter we do a lot of fishing in the canals. Sometimes the water is pushed into our nearest field by the canals, and we can fish in it. But it's far too dangerous to go into the water and pull nets because there are too many snakes in the water. The water is too dirty as well. But we still have a good time and enjoy ourselves in the water.

2. When I was about 13 years old my dad was in England. He wrote a letter to us saying that he would try to get us to England. We were so happy to come here. After about six months he came back to Bangladesh to get us.

When we came to England we felt so cold! We went to the hotel in Newbridge. Next day my dad went to the council office to apply for a house. We stayed in the hotel for two months, then we had a flat in Ferry Road. We stayed in Ferry Road for about 2½ years. Then we bought a house with a nice garden in Stoneleigh.

Ms Montgomery described her next task as "to discuss the two new sections with Mashud and to get him thinking about how to incorporate them into the original text". The rest of the class were busily involved with their own writing, and I was once again able to sit in on Ms Montgomery's and Mashud's conversation:

DIALOGUE 20

Ms M: That's really excellent, Mashud. Very good. Do you think this is long enough now?

M: Miss... (Tone implies 'Yes'.)

Ms M: So all you've got to do now is add these bits... But... Don't just put them on the end. In this

kind of writing, it's best to put things together...

M: Miss?

Ms M: (Partly to herself, partly to Mashud, partly to me)
Mmm... It's so hard to explain... Look... (Pointing to Mashud's work) Here... The War... Here... Your home... Here, you and your friends playing... Here, Ramadan... Now... these new bits... You and your friends playing... Put that in here. (Draws arrows on Mashud's second draft, indicating this section should go after "a small sweetshop".)

M: (Pointing to the second new piece) This, Miss?

Ms M: Er...

M: Here, Miss! (Pointing to the end of the original version.)

Ms M: Yes. Good. Put that bit at the end. It actually goes there quite nicely, doesn't it. Good. Well done.

Mashud returned to his work. Five days later, he had finished it. Ms Montgomery happened to be away from school

that day, and Mashud asked me if I would go over his completed third draft with him.

11.8 Evidence of Repertoire Extension in Practice

I found that Mashud's new section labelled 1 (above), on playing with his friends (hunting for animals, birds and fish), appeared, as Ms Montgomery had suggested, with the other references to play: tucked in between a paragraph about playing in the fields and the paragraph about the wrestling match. The other new material (labelled 2, above), about life in England, also appeared where Mashud himself had suggested: at the end of his completed script. What was of particular interest, however, was that Mashud had independently made two further organisational alterations, entirely of his own volition. First, he had removed the short paragraph "I have two uncles ... Bangladesh" from its original location (i.e. surrounded by paragraphs dealing with recreational activities with his peers) and replaced it at the end of the script after "Then we bought a house with a nice garden in Stoneleigh", where it fitted in as a 'family detail'. (Neither Ms Montgomery nor I had previously commented on, or, I suspect, even noticed the 'inappropriate' placing of this paragraph when the suggestion was made to insert part of Mashud's new material here.) Second, he had shifted the short paragraph that had appeared at the end of his second draft - "Another

day ... we had great fun" - to a new position just after the paragraph about the wrestling match, creating a new section on Bangladeshi sports.

Most of my next meeting with Ms Montgomery was spent discussing Mashud's finished autobiography - a remarkable piece of writing by any standards, made even more remarkable by the halting, embarrassed English of his oral exchanges with us. In addition to observing a number of techniques transferred and developed from his moral stories - for instance, the ability to recount narrative in a very vivid way - we also found the emergence of what appeared to us to be new techniques. These included the evaluation of experience, the adoption of a conversational 'voice', and the use of redrafting skills of a far more complex nature than Mashud had ever shown us before.

The appearance of these new drafting skills interested us greatly, partly because we both felt that their impact was likely to extend beyond the English classroom into other subject areas. Essentially, these redrafting skills were to do with the organisation of written material in ways that related to perceptions of similarity (an essential ingredient of subordinative modes of representation) rather than to their location in 'real time' (an essential ingredient of aggregative modes). It may well be that Mashud's playing of badminton, volleyball and cricket and

the throwing of heavy stones occurred at the end of his first period in Bangladesh - indeed, subsequent questioning revealed that they did; however, in his newest draft the account was located with other recreational activities, now all gathered together in a single section of the composition. Similarly, Mashud's reference to uncles and siblings may have originally seemed more appropriate adjacent to talk of "our house" and "our own market"; but on second thoughts it clearly seemed to him to go better with the mention of his father's coming to England and returning for some of his family a little later.

This is not to suggest that Mashud had no existing grasp of these important skills, or that many monolingual anglophones do not also reveal a tendency to write sometimes in additive rather than subordinative ways. All the evidence of Mashud's previous writing, however, suggested that the subordinative style of writing 'own' stories favoured in Western European schools and cultures was one in which he had not previously received extensive instruction or encouragement; also that through certain relations and discourse structures with his English teachers, and in particular with his principal English teacher Ms Montgomery, he was now showing signs of understanding and acquiring those styles within a teaching and learning framework that did not question or undermine previously or concurrently

held notions of appropriateness, either of content or of representation.

It could prove misleading to base sweeping claims on Ms Montgomery's lessons with Mashud, and, as with the experiences of Nozrul and Abdul, we have to acknowledge other possible contributory factors to these developments in his work: for example, a 'natural' maturation, or an increased familiarity with favoured English styles of writing that could have more to do with the length of time he had been in this country than in his teacher's strategies. On the other hand, we must avoid the danger of erring too far on the side of caution and of dismissing or undervaluing the teacher's role in this instance.

With this in mind, it should be recorded that, just as Abdul's experiences with Mr Geddes coincided with the end of his writing career at school, so Mashud's experiences with Ms Montgomery coincided with the beginning of some remarkable developments in his. It was noticeable, for instance, that in subsequent work a number of changes occurred in his approach to writing, chief among which were:

regular attempts to replicate 'new' forms or genres;

inviting monolingual English peers to read and comment on drafts of his work;

substantially altering early drafts by reshaping and by making significant additions and removals.

If Ms Montgomery had not been entirely responsible for these developments - and we must not run the risk, either, of taking credit away from Mashud himself - her approach had, in my view, ensured an environment in which their occurrence was not only permitted but encouraged. The indications were that Mashud was continuing to enjoy his work in English and to value himself as a writer, while at the same time developing expertise in those cultural-linguistic forms that he would need, in the first instance, to achieve a good grade in the public examination for which he was entered.

PART 4: CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER TWELVE: CONCLUSIONS

12.1 Research Project - Summary of Findings

This research project was initiated by questions about the relative advantages and disadvantages of two forms of provision for bilingual pupils: large-scale withdrawal of such pupils for specialised language work, and in-class support provided by skilled ESL teachers (Part One Chapter One). During the course of the project, it became apparent that helpful and unhelpful pedagogies existed within either system. Consequently, pedagogy - about which there seemed to be relatively little in-depth research vis-a-vis bilingual pupils - replaced matters of organisation as the prime focus of the project.

Two institutions - Kursal Lane Language Centre and Company Road Secondary School - were observed, each offering very different organisational provision for bilingual pupils and espousing different philosophies towards language and learning in general and towards bilingual pupils in particular. At Kursal Lane, teachers supported a model of language-in-context whereby pupils were taught a modified curriculum in simplified English, with curriculum content 'leading' language development, and with first-language use effectively banned from the classroom. Teachers here accepted a restricted version of Cummins' BICS-CALP

hypothesis, seeking to separate out 'everyday' from 'academic' language and perceiving the former as easier to learn than the latter (Cummins 1984). At this institution, teachers were unanimous in their overall philosophy and approach, although there were cases of mismatch between what teachers maintained they were doing and what they were observed to be doing by the researcher. For example, teachers claimed to believe in the importance of pupils asking questions, but in the observed lessons question-asking was actively discouraged.

The model adopted at the second institution, Company Road, was to educate bilingual pupils as far as was considered appropriate in mainstream classes alongside monolingual peers, following the standard school curriculum. Work in bilingual pupils' first languages was permitted and, in some subjects and by some teachers, actively encouraged. While there were inter- and intra-personal disagreements among staff about what constituted best provision for bilingual pupils, marked by mismatches between privately and publicly stated views, teachers in the ESL department as well as other key members of staff tended to accept a fuller version of Cummins' BICS-CALP hypothesis, to include a belief in the notion of 'transference' and Common Underlying Proficiency.

At Kursal Lane (Chapters Four to Seven) it was found that bilingual pupils were offered access to a very restricted range of teaching-learning discourses. In addition to an effective ban on pupils asking questions, work was pitched at cognitive levels below what would be expected of pupils of their age assuming typical development, and they were introduced to simplified and often stilted language. Furthermore, pupils' previous language and learning experiences were largely ignored by the teachers, revealing a further mismatch between the teachers' stated views on this subject (ie. that they did take such experience into account) and their actual classroom practice. This mismatch was in part attributable to the teachers' perceptions of what they felt able to do given current levels of resourcing and what they would like to do if more funding had been available.

At Company Road (Chapters Eight to Eleven), where conscious efforts were made to take pupils' previous experience into account, discursive restrictions of a different nature were in evidence. Here, pupils' linguistic experience was taken into account on the level of "formal linguistic knowledge" (Loveday 1982), but not necessarily in the area of "functional linguistic knowledge" (ibid.). Specifically, teachers failed to recognise or validate representational genres or styles (Kress 1982, Bourdieu 1974) learned by pupils within their 'first' cultures, electing rather to

treat manifestations of generic differences either as failed attempts to replicate an alternative genre (the genre validated already by the school) or as symptoms of learning deficiency. It appeared in this respect that although teachers were taking account of the fact that some elements of language and experience were linguistically and culturally common and therefore 'transferable', they were ignoring the fact that others were culture- or language-specific and occupied a place outside that of Common Underlying Proficiency. This oversight contributed to 'Cultural Mismatches', in which teacher and pupil definitions of the teaching-learning situation or of the specific task set were inevitably at odds. In such situations, pupils may have understood on a purely 'linguistic' level - cf. Dummett 1986, p.471 - what they were being asked to do, but they had no access to the assessment criteria by which their efforts would be judged. (See, also, Levine 1981 on the way in which developing bilingual speakers "often know what they are required to do, but do not know how to do it": Levine 1981, p.27.)

It was noted that there were exceptions to this general trend at Company Road, in the form of teachers who were prepared to acknowledge and take account of the culture-specific nature of genres and of corresponding differences in their pupils' work. Such teachers appeared able to achieve a 'distancing' effect, in which both their own and

their pupils' cultural preferences became de-natured and 'visible', and able to be approached as social constructs. To these teachers, bilingual pupils were, effectively, perceived as bi- or multi-cultured. One result of this perception was that these teachers were able to adopt pedagogical approaches which appeared helpful to their bilingual pupils, in contrast to the pedagogies of other teachers which appeared unhelpful.

12.2 Conclusions and Possibilities

1) Ms Montgomery's Evaluation: Issues of Correction and Extension

After each of a selection of lessons observed at Company Road, teachers were invited to make informal evaluations of what had taken place, through recorded or unrecorded interviews¹. Of the four lessons described in detail in Part Three, three teachers - Mr Geddes, Mrs Endersley and Ms Montgomery - took up this offer. Of the three evaluations, Ms Montgomery's was the fullest and, in the context of this thesis, the most valuable, not least since it raised an important new issue, made from a teacher's perspective, that threw some light on the relationship between the micro-politics of schoolteaching and the macro-politics of society at large². (See also Bruner 1976, p.p 114-123.)

In her evaluation, Ms Montgomery, instead of focussing on her apparent successes with Mashud and other pupils in the class, chose, to my initial surprise, to highlight three major areas of concern. The first of these was that she felt she had undertaken too much routine 'correction' of the surface features of Mashud's work, indicating that she felt "lucky not to have put the poor lad off altogether". The second was that she felt she had imposed - rather than negotiated - length-limits on Mashud's work, effectively preventing him from making a decision on this matter for himself. The third, and the one that clearly worried her the most, was that she felt she had given Mashud no real explanation as to why his original piece of writing might benefit from re-working in the ways she had proposed, but had merely made suggestions "as if responding to some universal developmental norm".

Much has been made in this thesis of the dangers of devaluing existing cultural forms in the necessary process of helping pupils acquire expertise in replicating the new ones they will need if they are to enjoy a full range of options in the society in which they live. What I have suggested is that this challenge might best be met by adopting a policy of the extension of cultural 'repertoires' (Bakhtin 1986, Volosinov 1973), rather than by treating certain cultural-linguistic forms as 'correct' and attempting to substitute these for other cultural-

linguistic forms treated as 'incorrect'³. With hindsight, Ms Montgomery found it impossible to say whether the changes to Mashud's work, effective though they were in terms of actual and possible academic success, were evidence of an extension of his linguistic repertoire, or whether they were simply the manifestation of a substitution process, resulting from a reasonable misunderstanding on Mashud's part that his earlier efforts had been wrong and his subsequent efforts correct.

These doubts, which echo earlier observations about shared understandings, joint action and defining situations (cf. **Chapter Three** above), led Ms Montgomery to consider broader issues related to cultural reproduction, and in particular to relate the anxieties inspired by her work with bilingual children to what were now, to her, emergent issues of culture and pedagogy relevant to all her pupils. During her evaluation, for example, she was to observe:

I see now that we really need to explain things more... to all our bilingual kids. Showing them the right way - if you can call it the right way - is step number one. You can make some headway in that, even when the language gap is fairly wide. Step number two is to explain to them - and to explain to all children - why certain ways of doing things have come to be accepted as right and proper. For that, you actually need to be able to

communicate on a far more sophisticated level because you're getting into the area of politics and sociology. If we can't be provided with bilingual teachers who have been trained in this sort of pedagogical approach, who can explain to these pupils the complicated nature of language, culture and class, there will always be a danger that we [monolingual English] teachers will end up doing the very things we're trying not to do.

While Ms Montgomery might be perceived by some teachers as being overly harsh on herself, it is hard to question her wisdom in continuing to interrogate her practice rather than resting on perceived achievements, or in linking her lessons with Mashud to wider issues including those of educational funding. Her concerns about Mashud's perceptions of his learning experience - and a refusal to allow herself to ignore these in the light of her own perceptions of his success - are particularly valuable in the context of this study. The juxtaposition of Mashud's experience with that of Abdul (Chapters Ten and Eleven above) might suggest that a simple contrast is being proposed here between pedagogy that is good and pedagogy that is bad. While such a contrast is intended in the broadest terms, supported by the evidence of what happened subsequently to either pupil in their English lessons, the dangers of being too hasty in applauding one teacher's

pedagogy as exemplary rather than as merely 'more appropriate' also need to be clearly pointed.

2) Symbolic Violence and the Problem of Teacher Action

Pierre Bourdieu has written at length about what he calls "symbolic violence": that is to say, the assertion, chiefly through educational systems, of one set of "arbitrary" cultural forms by the powerful groups of people who own and practise them, above other sets which they perceive - and encourage their owners to perceive - as inferior forms (see, for example, Bourdieu & Passeron 1977 p.5). In Bourdieu's view, the curriculum presented to schoolpupils is presented precisely as if it were not an arbitrary (ie. culture-specific) selection of knowledge and practices: as if it were a universally 'correct' collection made almost without choice - that is to say, as if it were 'natural'. In this model, it is the school's - and therefore the teacher's - function to perpetuate the myth of 'naturalness', to ensure that pupils continue to "misrecognise" the curriculum as both natural and neutral. It is important, also, that pupils continue to perceive schools as possessing a "relative autonomy" - that is to say, of there being no direct, causal link between the school curriculum and powerful interests in society. If such a link - which Bourdieu maintains does exist - were perceived by pupils, the curriculum would be seen by those

same pupils for what, in his view, it really is - that is, an act itself of symbolic violence - and the very educational system would be undermined.

Bourdieu has gone further than this, to suggest that teachers, as the representatives of the "arbitrary power" that imposes the curriculum, are in no position to challenge that system or to be taken seriously by pupils in any overt attempts to do so. To use Bourdieu's terminology, Pedagogic Action (PA) is inseparable from Pedagogic Authority (PAu), which stands as the "social condition of its exercise" (Bourdieu & Passeron 1977 pp.11-12). The teacher who seeks to 'come clean' by exposing the system to her pupils, to help them understand, for example, the biased and unfair nature of the curriculum, is ultimately doomed to failure, since

the idea of a PA [pedagogic action] expressed without PAu is a logical contradiction and a sociological impossibility: a PA which aimed to unveil, in its very exercise, its objective reality of violence and thereby to destroy the basis of the agent's PAu would be self-destructive. The paradox of Epidemes the liar would appear in a new form: either you believe I'm not lying when I tell you education is violence and my teaching isn't legitimate, so you can't believe me; or you believe

I'm lying and my teaching is legitimate, so you still can't believe what I say when I tell you it is violence.

(ibid. p.12)

While broadly agreeing with Bourdieu's analysis of the relationship between social power and school curricula, it is on this last issue - of the extent to which it is possible for teachers to challenge the system within which they are operating (and which they are consequently 'supporting') - that Ms Montgomery's words invite us to take issue. In Ms Montgomery's perception, there clearly is some pedagogic action that teachers can take to provide more effective help for their pupils in the very act of exposing the biases which continue to work against them. How, we may ask, does such action operate?

3) Challenging the System While Helping Pupils to Succeed Within It

Bourdieu is not the only sociologist to identify this particular dilemma for teachers: certain others, however, may be said to have been less deterministic in their presentation of the problem. In an alternative presentation of basically the same paradox, Willis, for example, having lent support to Bourdieu through his assertion that education ensures that "the same standards, ideologies and

aspirations are not really passed on to all" has argued that

[t]here is no contradiction in asking practitioners to work on two levels simultaneously - to face immediate problems in doing 'the best' (so far as they can see it) for their clients, while appreciating all the time that these very actions may help to reproduce the structure within which the problems arise.

(Willis 1977, pp. 177 & 186)

To relate Bourdieu's and Willis's commentaries to Ms Montgomery's pedagogy - and particularly to her evaluation and explanation of that pedagogy - we could make the following points:

(a) Bourdieu seems to suggest, through his metaphor of Epidemes the liar, that it is not possible for a teacher such as Ms Montgomery successfully to challenge with her pupils the value-system inherent in the curriculum she teaches. To attempt to do so would result in something like the following:

Ms Montgomery: I value all your work, Mashud. However, the system on whose behalf I work does not: it is

symbolically violent, and, as its agency, so is my teaching.

Mashud: Since you are a self-confessed agent of the system, and your teaching is, as you say, symbolically violent, I clearly cannot accept your teaching as legitimate: nor can I believe that what you are telling/teaching me now is in my best interests and not simply another example of symbolic violence at work.

- (b) Willis, on the contrary, appears to suggest that it is not impossible for teachers who recognise an essential corruption in an education system to take on the long-term project of seeking to change that system while simultaneously helping all their pupils, as best as they can, within the faulty system that currently exists. This would involve, for example, 'compromises'⁴ such as helping pupils develop the skills they will need to succeed in culturally-biased public examinations, while simultaneously working to change the examinations system and by promoting and valuing other of their pupils' skills that are not given equal value in the system: that is to say, adopting the repertoire extension model already referred to in this thesis and practised by Ms Montgomery and Mrs Endersley.

(c) In her own evaluation, Ms Montgomery appears to suggest a possible way out of the dilemma: that is, to 'align' herself with her pupil. Such an 'alignment' acknowledges her pupil's oppression, and seeks to develop the 'Epidemic' dialogue so that it moves out of the realms of logic and semantics into a genuine explanation of the complex situation in which schools, teachers and pupils find themselves in relation to the most powerful social groups. This approach - implicit in Ms Montgomery's argument that teachers need to "explain to all children [...] why certain ways of doing things have come to be accepted as right and proper" (my emphasis) - necessarily involves the teacher in an overtly political act. This act seeks to place current educational practices within a socio-historic context, not just by educating pupils in terms of any extant curricula but by educating pupils about education: for example, explaining to them why it is that certain cultural-linguistic forms are, within the system, prioritised and valued above others for reasons other than intrinsic 'merit'. (See, too, Bruner's claim that a theory of instruction is "a political theory in [...] that it derives from consensus concerning the distribution of power within the society": Bruner 1976, p.115. Support materials for English teachers which have sought precisely to help teachers undertake a political approach to their language teaching include

The Languages Book (1981), produced by the ILEA's English Centre, and Language and Power (1990), produced by the ILEA Afro-Caribbean Language and Literacy Project in Further and Adult Education.)

Properly to understand Ms Montgomery's misgivings about her own pedagogic behaviour - without necessarily endorsing those misgivings - we need to turn again to Bourdieu's own objection. To pursue that objection, we could say that the lessons involving Abdul and Mr Geddes offer a graphic illustration of symbolic violence at work: specifically, Abdul's existing, learned ways of telling stories were perceived by Mr Geddes - acting as the unknowing agent of a dominant culture - as incorrect, unlearned ways, and were responded to accordingly with a strategy of eliminate-and-replace. It could be argued, however, that Mashud, despite his apparent success, was just as much a victim of symbolic violence himself: that he perceived his ways of organising his work as incorrect and the school's ways - mediated through Ms Montgomery - as correct: that if he did not 'give in' in the way that Abdul appeared to, this was because the symbolic violence perpetrated against him had simply been carried out with greater subtlety by a teacher wanting to challenge the system but being unable to do so. This, certainly, was Ms Montgomery's fear, as is indicated in her question about explaining things fully to Mashud and her concern that, for all her efforts, the

dominant message she may have ended up giving her pupil was that "certain ways of doing things" were "right and proper."

4) Making Things Problematic and Strange: Teachers as Agents of Change

Doubts such as Ms Montgomery's are undoubtedly worrying for those who express them. However, teachers can worry too much about what they are not doing - much of which, as Ms Montgomery suggested, amounts to what they are not able to do - and too easily undervalue the good work that they are doing. The kind of 'public opinion' that genuinely values linguistic and cultural diversity (cf. Levine's notion of "being hospitable to diversity", Levine 1981, p.26) may, in this country, still be a long way off: however, I would argue that, as an individual operating within and making sense of a society that does not yet value such diversity, Ms Montgomery showed that she was, through careful evaluation, able to distance herself from her own cultural preferences. Through such distancing, she was able to achieve a level of awareness that enabled her to challenge some of the perceived truths that she had previously promulgated without question, and to adapt her own pedagogical stance accordingly.

The strategy tentatively proposed by Ms Montgomery - that of taking a political, 'explanatory' stance, involving a sharing of her perceptions and anxieties with her pupils - finds its elaboration in the work of Michael Apple. Like Bourdieu, Apple contrasts the actual arbitrariness of cultural forms with their imagined latent superiority, emphasising the way in which matters of preference or choice (what is contained within the curriculum for example) are presented as neutral or 'invisible' (Apple 1979, pp. 130 & 6). Unlike Bourdieu, Apple places particular emphasis for the educational sociologist on "making the curriculum forms found in schools problematic so that their latent ideological content can be uncovered" (see also Burgess 1992, pp.75-6, whose critique of Rorty touches similar territory). Such an approach leads to and includes a "more concrete appraisal of the linkages between economic and political power and knowledge made available (and not made available) to students" (Apple 1979, p.7).⁵

It is only a small step away from this recommendation to arguing a parallel, pedagogical recommendation that teachers should be helped to become increasingly aware themselves of these linkages and that they should subsequently seek to raise the awareness of their pupils. In making such a recommendation, Apple initially takes Willis's paradox a stage further, to indicate some of the difficulties that lie in wait for the teacher embarking on

such a strategy. Heightened awareness on the teacher's part can, for example, lead to "demoralisation", and to the very teachers most likely to challenge the system ultimately withdrawing themselves from it:

Certainly, we must be honest about the ways power, knowledge and interest are interrelated and made manifest [...] But we must also remember that the very sense of personal and collective futility that may come from such honesty is itself an aspect of an effective dominant culture.

(Apple 1979 p.161)

Furthermore, teachers who attempt necessarily small improvements in their pupils' lives may be perceived as unintentionally conspiring to perpetuate symbolic violence - and indeed the current system - through those very attempts: that is to say, such small improvements may merely distract pupils, and even the teachers themselves, from the true, radical changes that are required. (An example of this might be the changes in the public examinations system for English, brought about in no small measure through pressure from practising teachers. Details of the examinations system, such as the introduction and increase of examinable coursework, have undeniably altered:

however, the examinations system itself remains in place and, it could be argued, fundamentally intact.)

This latter notion is challenged by Apple with equal force, again in terms reminiscent of Willis:

The notion that all ameliorative action is something of an unconscious bribe paid by liberal reformers to women, Blacks, workers and others, one that keeps them from pressing for more dramatic changes, is an odd position [...]. It rests on a rather too simplistic probability assumption. It assumes there is something of a one-to-one correspondence between attempting to make life somehow better today or in the near future and preventing a revolution that will naturally arise if we just wait for conditions to get bad enough. [...] It assumes that there are immutable laws of economic and political development, that are not shaped and reshaped by the real human practice of conscious groups of human actors.

(ibid. p.161)

Pursuing this point, in an argument which does not sit uncomfortably with symbolic interaction theory (cf. **Chapter Three** above), Apple suggests that "human actors" not only can but should take "ameliorative action", quoting already-successful actions - in relation to "workers, the

poor, women, Blacks, Native Americans, Latinos and others"
- in support of his claim (1979 pp.160-1).

Apple's final call, for the "passionate involvement Gramsci called for in his notion of the organic intellectual who actively participates in the struggle against hegemony" is one that has subsequently found strong support elsewhere, in, for example, the work of Henry Giroux (1988). Giroux, seeking to replace the "language of critique" with the "language of possibility", has called upon "transformative intellectuals" to engage in a new "radical pedagogy as a form of cultural politics" that will encourage school pupils to be not merely autonomous learners but "critical and active" citizens who, on leaving school, will carry the battle for cultural pluralism and equality into the new private and public spheres in which they operate (Giroux 1988 p.p. 193, 194-7 & 208). Supporting his position through reference to Bakhtin (1981 & 1984), Volosinov (1973 & 1976) and Freire (1970, 1973 & 1985), Giroux explains how such a pedagogy would need to combine exposure and criticism of "historically produced social forms and how these forms carry and embody particular interests" with "new alternative approaches to school organization, curricula and classroom social relations" (1988 p. 196). This is a pedagogical and research paradigm that:

makes problematic how teachers and students sustain, resist, or accommodate those languages, ideologies, social processes and myths that position them within existing relations of power and dependency.

(Giroux 1988 p.200. For a critique - which is also an alternative reading of Giroux, see Hill 1994.)

While it might appear extravagant to describe Mrs Endersley or Ms Montgomery as "radical educators" (Giroux 1988 p.201) - a term neither, certainly, would have used of themselves - it does not seem extravagant to locate their classroom practice toward their bilingual pupils within the basic paradigm Giroux has identified. If only at the level of elaborating "groundrules" with their pupils (cf. Sheeran & Barnes 1991), both teachers can be said to have recognised cultural differences between their pupils' skills and preferences and those espoused within the mainstream curriculum, to have understood the bias rooted within those differences, and - in Ms Montgomery's case certainly - to have made both curriculum and pedagogy sufficiently "problematic" to themselves to have been able to contemplate a fuller exploration of cultural bias with their pupils. Such an exploration might ultimately empower their pupils not merely as 'successful' students in terms of linguistic-academic achievement, but as potential "transformative intellectuals" themselves.

NOTES

Notes on Part One

Chapter One

1. The phrases 'recently arrived' and 'newly arrived' were used of bilingual pupils at one of the institutions observed, the Kursal Lane Language Centre, as a way of describing pupils who had been living in Britain for up to one year and who had been able to speak and write little or no English on arrival.

The other institution, Company Road Secondary School, described bilingual pupils as stage 1 ('beginners'), stage 2, stage 3 and stage 4 - using the categories then common throughout the Education Authority.

2. In line with the institutions at which my research was carried out, I have used the abbreviation ESL throughout to denote 'English as a Second Language'. Two other abbreviations which need explaining are L1 and L2, which teachers at the institutions commonly used for 'first language', and 'second language', in the style of Dulay, Burt & Krashen (1982) - a work that was familiar to most of the ESL teachers I spoke to.

The questionnaire referred to was part of a consultation process initiated by the Head of the ESL Department, who wanted to give her staff the chance to say individually and anonymously how they felt about the relative merits of withdrawal and mainstream-support.

3. See also Stubbs 1976 p.88 on an earlier reluctance of linguistic researchers to "go where the action is: into classrooms".

4. Ball (1981 & 1984) describes the sharing of his findings with the staff at the school being researched as an important stage in his project and a way of interrogating and re-evaluating his own interim descriptions and analyses. While it is true that I constantly checked back with all the teachers whose words and lessons I referred to in the thesis for verification and comment, I did not, however, lay the thesis in its entirety before the staffs of either institution. I felt there would be little to gain either for myself or for the staffs involved in presenting the thesis before them in toto, believing that they would be inclined to reject my analyses of their own practice in ways that would not apply if the findings were presented as descriptions of another institution's practices.
5. What publications there are tend to be in-house, in the form of policy documents. A possible reason for this, suggested by the Head of ESL at Company Road School, is that withdrawal of various kinds represented the status quo or 'common-sense' way of catering for bilingual pupils and consequently was not perceived of as requiring justification - a view that needs to be set beside Levine's, that available research suggests that mainstream integration should be perceived as the norm.

In some other countries, such as the USA, the 'ESL debate' has focussed not on whether or not to withdraw bilingual pupils for special L2 instruction, but whether they should be wholly 'immersed' in an 'L2-delivered' curriculum, or provided with 'bilingual education' in which they are taught at least some of the curriculum through, in the first instance, their own L1. (For a useful review of this debate, see Cummins 1986 pp. 37-94.)

6. Not all research has pointed to academic advantages for bilingual pupils. Coleman et al (1966) and Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa (1976), for example, have drawn attention to the poor academic performance of many minority language students, as did the 1986 report 'Bangladeshis in Britain' referred to in detail in Chapter Two below, while Christopherson (1973, p.79) has argued that "the strain of someone belonging and yet not belonging to two communities, the conflicts of behaviour [...] may well bring out undesirable personality traits". As Cummins (1984, p.103) has argued, however, any problems related to bilingualism are less readily attributable to "bilingualism per se" than to "the social and educational conditions under which minority students acquire their two languages". (See also Fishman 1976.)

Despite the widespread publication of research proclaiming the value of bilingualism and mother-tongue maintenance, Little & Willey, 1981 p.21, report "little support among the majority of [education] authorities [in England and Wales] for teaching children of minority ethnic group origin at secondary stage other subjects in their mother tongue[,] because there is considered to be no real educational need and no demand from the communities, because the practical difficulties would be considerable and because there are other more pressing priorities". This observation is endorsed by Miller (1983), who argues that "to be genuinely multilingual or multidialectal in contemporary Britain is allowed to be a drawback" (my emphasis), and by Wright (1985, p.6) who suggests that "the bilingualism of hundreds of thousands of British children may be a liability to them in schools simply because it is not being put to use".

7. Section 11 of the Act provides schools with money to be spent exclusively on extra educational provision for immigrants from the 'new commonwealth'. This provision has usually taken the form of ESL staff.
8. See also the argument of Sharp & Green (1975) that organisational changes in relation to de-streaming can be undermined by pedagogies which effectively persist in streaming pupils within the 'mixed ability' classroom.
9. See also Levine 1981. There is, it should be said, a growing volume of descriptive accounts of classroom practice in relation to bilingual learners, from both teachers' and learners' perspectives: see, for example, Bleach & Riley 1981, National Writing Project 1990 and Warner 1992. There remains, however, a shortage of detailed, analytic case-studies.
10. Interestingly, though the 'linguistic mismatch' theory has been invoked to support bilingual education programmes in the USA, it was invoked in the British schools I worked in by teachers who wanted to support language withdrawal programmes.
11. A particularly interesting example of this is described in detail in Part Three, Chapter 9 of the thesis.
12. An example of 'transferable' language skills are those skills related to formal letter writing. Whatever language such letters are written in, there are common underlying procedures, skills and awarenesses, such as the awareness that one uses a specific style and format that is qualitatively different from the style and format of, say, a personal letter or a story, and that this style and format needs to take into account an awareness of the expectations of the recipient towards

such a letter. The obverse of this is that there will always remain large areas of difference between the styles and formats appropriate to formal letter-writing in one language and those appropriate in another. The same holds true, as we shall see, of story-writing. By writing stories in their own first language, pupils may well be said to be developing story-writing skills in general that will make them more accomplished story writers in any language. On the other hand, we need to remember that not every culture judges or perceives story-telling according to the same criteria as every other.

13. By "cultural materialism" I refer to the argument that cultural products - for example, the plays of William Shakespeare - do not possess timeless qualities and eternal truths that earn them a higher value than certain other cultural products, but that any 'extra' value they may be perceived as having is invested in them by particular groups of people inhabiting particular places and times (see, for example, Dollimore & Sinfield 1985, and Sinfield 1993). Unlike most work on cultural materialism, which examines cultural products essentially in terms of a historical positioning, my own interest lies in the ways in which different contemporary cultures judge their own cultural products according to 'local' criteria, while at the same time investing in their own products a greater value than the one they attribute to a 'foreign' product within the same genre.

14. Studies such as this suggest helpful connections between theoretical perspectives from different disciplines. In this instance, "cultural mismatch" theory, drawn from linguistic research in the area of bilingualism, has clear connections with interpretative mismatch theory,

drawn from Symbolic Interactionism, and discourse mismatch theory drawn from Psycho-Semiotics. These connections are elaborated in **Chapter Three** and throughout the thesis.

Chapter Two

1. The notion of language 'transfer' is described under 'Common Underlying Proficiency' theory in **Part Two, Chapter Seven** of the thesis.
2. The ESL department was the largest at the school, with some twenty full- and part-time members.
3. Prior to approaching Kursal Lane and Company Road, I visited seven other secondary schools in the city for meetings with Heads of ESL and/or contact teachers whom I had known either from previously working myself in the city or through the advice of local inspectors and advisers. The reasons for approaching Kursal Lane and Company Road are dealt with in the thesis.
4. At both Kursal Lane and Company Road as many teachers as possible were interviewed about their views on whether or not Stage 1 bilingual pupils should be taught in mainstream classrooms. At Kursal Lane, with its relatively small staff, I was able to interview everyone. At Company Road, where the teaching staff numbered over a hundred, I interviewed fifty teachers from across the full range of subject specialisms.
5. While teachers at Kursal Lane were happy for me to visit their classes one or even two days a week for an extended period, teachers at Company Road preferred me to visit in two-week blocks at extended intervals.

6. Interestingly, my very acts of participation made it impossible for me to assume a "normal role" at either institution. It was clear to both teachers and pupils that I was neither a teacher nor a pupil myself. It was also clear to them that in some respects I resembled a teacher (eg. helping out in the classroom; chatting in the staffroom) while in others I resembled a pupil (eg. not telling pupils off for rule-breaking; chatting with them in the playground). I was aware that I could never, consequently, hope to perceive events as the pupils saw them, or indeed as the teachers saw them.
7. Gold identifies four categories of observer-researcher: the "complete participant", whose identity as researcher is not made known to those being researched; the "participant-as-observer" who develops "field relationships" through involvement with informants as they go about their usual business; the "observer-as-participant", whose role calls for "relatively more formal observation" including "studies involving one-visit interviews"; and the "complete observer" whereby the field worker is removed from social interaction with informants in a way that makes it "unnecessary for them to take [the observer-researcher] into account" (Gold 1958, pp. 219-221).
8. For a more detailed account of how research data was gathered and coded, see Appendix 1.
9. The generated theories can be either idiographic or nomothetic. 'Idiographic' theories are descriptive only of the specific situations observed, seeking a greater understanding of those situations and the interactions that comprise them. By 'nomothetic', I refer to a more widely theoretical function, by which the research produces, as it were, a meta-theory or -theories that

can be applied to situations other than those under immediate observation.

My own studies are intended to be neither wholly idiographic nor wholly nomothetic. Such a distinction seems unhelpful in this instance, and in any event, as Woods (1979, pp. 267-8) has pointed out: "'idiographic' and 'nomothetic' approaches are not mutually exclusive, in that we can have both rich and intensive description and generalizability". Although the studies presented are clearly studies of particular actors in particular situations, my assumption is that readers will seek to apply the descriptions and analyses to situations with which they themselves are familiar, and to test out any generalizability for themselves.

10. Hammersley opposes "naive" realism with "subtle realism", in which "no knowledge is certain, but knowledge claims can be judged reasonably accurate in terms of their likely truth" (Hammersley 1990, p.61, my emphasis). Hammersley's argument suggests that just as the ethnographer may be credited with making "reasonable judgements" about the 'truth' of what they see, so readers of ethnographic accounts will need to make similar judgements as to what is convincing and what demands further elaboration or support (1990, p.73).
11. On two occasions, teachers denied saying things I had transcribed from my tape-recordings, and insisted on hearing the recordings played back. When they heard what they had said, they appeared genuinely surprised, indicating in the strongest terms that they had actually intended to say something different. In these cases, both the original transcriptions and the subsequent amendments were recorded in the first draft of the

report, although the data was omitted from the final report in preference for other, more illuminating data.

12. For difficulties of respondent validation in relation to issues of interpretation, see, however, Woods 1992: eg. p.375.

Chapter Three

1. There is no shortage of philosophical writing on the nature of language and communication: see, for example, Dummett 1986, Davidson 1984, Rorty 1982, Habermas 1970b, and Wittgenstein 1968. For a critique of some of this writing, including some difficulties with Habermas's theory, see Callinicos 1989 pp.92-120.
2. See also Habermas (1970a) "On Systematically Distorted Communication", Inquiry vol.13, pp.205-18, and Habermas (1970b) "Towards a Theory of Communicative Competence", Recent Sociology no.2. Habermas's work relates patterns of communicative competence as perceived and practised in schools to patterns 'outside' the school environment and to the changing 'needs' of the socio-economic order.
3. More worrying, that is, because the pupils are older, and because the mismatch hinders their general language development as well as being symptomatic of their misreadings of discourse. To contextualise 'drills' of this variety within one tradition of foreign language teaching, see Wiles 1985a p.20.
4. Unrecognised, that is, by both pupils and teachers.
5. By behaviours and styles I mean the ways in which people do things - write stories, greet friends, show respect, draw maps and so on - according to what they have

learned as appropriate within the culture or cultures with which they are most familiar. An 'everyday' example of the kind of breakdown that can occur in this respect is of the bilingual child who respectfully (from the child's perspective) looks away from the teacher when being chastised, only to have the teacher shout back: "How dare you look away from me when I'm talking to you!" (See also Carr 1994, p.10 on body language which is "often interpreted as being aggressive and intimidating, and is little understood or valued in countries like England".)

6. That is, leaving aside such matters as standard spelling, grammar and punctuation, and focussing on such things as narrative structure and plot.
7. That is to say, using more than simple conjunctions.
8. See also Williams (1981, p.186) on the ways in which education systems "claim that they are transmitting 'knowledge' or 'culture' in an absolute, universally derived sense, though it is obvious that different systems, at different times and in different countries, transmit radically different selective versions of both."
9. Examples of such a pedagogy are described in some detail in Part Three of the thesis.

Notes on Part Two

Chapter Four

1. Mr Parsons was particularly familiar with current bilingual theory through an MA course he was following, and regularly provided timetabled inputs of a

theoretical nature to staff meetings. He was described by the Head of Centre as "our resident expert", and his colleagues at the Centre - several of whom had seen him teach - shared an almost undivided respect for the work he did, repeatedly referring to his teaching as a model of excellence.

2. For related work, examining compromises, conflicts and apparent contradictions in teacher perceptions and treatments of pupils, see Keddie (1971 p. 133), who introduces the notion of "two aspects of classroom knowledge: what knowledge teachers have of pupils, and what counts as knowledge to be made available and evaluated in the classroom".

In my own interviews, I was more specifically concerned to draw out any differences between what teachers felt they could do (from the perspective of practicality) and what they would like to do (that is, their ideology). In the event, there was no significant mismatch between the two at Kursal Lane. For example, all teachers except the Head of Centre were opposed to the use of L1 in classroom situations, not because they felt insufficient resources were available to make it work properly, but because they believed it was a bad policy whatever the resources.

3. The SMILE programme involved pupils selecting, completing and marking centrally-stored activity sheets under the teacher's guidance, so that it was common practice for pupils to be working on different activities from one another during the same lesson. At Company Road, SMILE materials were supported by 'home-produced' materials. It was such materials that were used with the pupil in question.

4. One member of staff (in addition to the Head of Centre) did indicate that she saw a potential value in pupils using their first languages in the classroom. However, she felt unconfident about doing this, partly because of her own monolingualism and partly because she perceived it as going against Centre policy.
5. This distinction is by no means a straightforward one. As Vygotsky has pointed out: "[W]ord meanings evolve. When a new word has been learned by the child, its development is barely starting; the word at first is a generalization of the most primitive type [...]." To relate this to one of our examples, we could trace how the child's possession of the word 'square' evolves from a straightforward apprehension of what a square looks like, through a recognition of its basic properties, to an articulation of those properties and how they relate to other geometrical shapes. It is that articulation, or the "conscious reflection" that lies behind it, that, for Vygotsky, distinguishes the 'scientific' concept' from the 'everyday' concept.
6. The issue of this model of concept development is returned to in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five

1. See, too, Walkerdine (1982, p.143) on how children are "led into new discourses by learning the rules of educational practices". At Company Road, it was not uncommon for teachers to ask variations on 'How do we ensure in 'discovery learning' that children discover the things we want them to?'
2. 'Progressive' and 'traditional' are used here in the sense they still have for classroom teachers, where

'progressive' may be said to correspond to 'weak framing' (Bernstein, 1977) and 'traditional' to 'strong framing'. In the traditional classroom, pupil initiatives and dialogues are discouraged and the teacher sticks rigidly to a preconceived learning-plan. In the progressive tradition, the reverse is true.

As Woods (1983, p.43) has suggested, dichotomies such as 'traditional-progressive' risk oversimplifying teaching styles (see also Cummins' concerns, 1984, over simplifications arising out of the 'BICS-CALP' dichotomy), and in practice teachers "do not take over one or other paradigm in toto" (see also Hammersley 1977, p.37). As an alternative to 'traditional' and 'progressive', Esland (1971) posits the paradigms "psychometric" and "epistemological" or "phenomenological". In the former, the pupil is viewed as an "object" endowed with "intelligence", who must discover a knowledge which is fixed, objective, external (1971, pp.88-9). Such a view legitimates a "didactic pedagogy" and "provides particular organizing principles for the selection and transmission of knowledge". The teacher correspondingly monitors the pupil's progress by means of 'objective' evaluations and criteria, adopting a pedagogical style that is "likely to predispose the teacher to limit the range of possible solutions to questions, and to be preoccupied with right answers expressed in 'the right way'". (See also Barnes & Shemilt 1974, Parlett & Hamilton 1972, Lister 1974). In the epistemological or phenomenological paradigm, by contrast, the child is perceived as an active learner in pursuit of the discovery of "chains of experience", while the teacher is viewed as "a guiding significant other" (1971, p.95). "Intelligence" in this paradigm

gives way to "curiosity" (see also Postman and Weingartner 1969).

3. For an elaboration of the dichotomy between public philosophy and private practice in education, see Keddie 1971, who contrasts opinions stated in "educational" contexts with practice carried out in "teacher" contexts - the former influenced more by theory and ambition, the latter by the practicalities of the teaching situation itself.
4. See also Stubbs M. & Robinson B (1979) on the ways in which pupils get 'locked into' IRF dialogue structures.
5. The notion of communicative competence is referred to in greater detail elsewhere in this chapter.
6. Such linguistic differentials are always likely to exist between teachers and their students. What is important in this case is the degree of this differential.
7. For an account of the possible source of such pedagogies, see Foucault 1977 Part 3, especially pp. 149-56 'The Control of Activity'.
8. It did occur to me that teachers at Kursal Lane might be prioritising procedure over cognition because they believed that pupils in this age-range would already possess the concepts, through their various first languages. Questionnaire answers, however (cf. Appendix 2), tended to refute this suggestion, as did individual interviews. Mr Parsons, for example, was quite explicit in interview about his views on the 'cognitive levels' of the pupils in the class in question, claiming that in this area they had "fallen very far behind" and that the work he was covering with them was "all new to them".

9. A corollary to this exists in the way in which pupils mistook discourses when contexts were removed, described under 'Discourse Mismatch' above.
10. I use the term 'interlanguage' to refer to the 'imperfect' versions of a second language that a developing bilingual uses in the process of learning the second language. The learner may well, for example, incorporate elements of their first language into their L2 performance, in the form of 'direct translations'. Selinker (1974), Miller (1983) and others have argued that interlanguage may be an essential stage in L2 development, and that constant, consistent 'correction' - as at Kursal Lane - could, in the long term, prove very damaging to the learner, resulting in a very stilted, restricted use of L2. Corder (1978) has gone so far as to suggest that second-language teaching could incorporate early 'errors' as (Miller, p. 141) "acceptable, provisional features of [their] target language"

Chapter Six

1. See also Barnes' observations on the peculiarities and problematics of teachers' language (Barnes 1976), and Stubbs' account of the way in which different notions of stylistic conventions between teachers' and pupils' language can be a source of "sociolinguistic interference" (Stubbs 1976, p.102).
2. I have used, for convenience, terminology that the pupils would not, of course, have understood or used themselves.
3. Mrs Singh's teaching might be described in terms of Esland's 'psychometric' paradigm (Esland 1971), in which

the teacher is predisposed to limit the range of possible solutions to questions, and to be preoccupied with right answers and 'the right way'. For a contrasting approach, see Coniff 1993, p.8.

4. It is necessary to draw a distinction here between a confusion that had come about essentially through a misunderstanding between teacher and pupil, and the notion of 'interlanguage' referred to elsewhere in this thesis. An essential difference is that the confusion is a result of the teacher deliberately 'handing down' a 'correct' linguistic form for the pupil to practise, and of the pupil picking up and practising a version of that form not intended by the teacher: in effect, a 'wrong' version. This 'wrong' version may become part of the pupil's 'interlanguage' - a concept much wider in its scope than any one specific confusion - but will stand out, from the pupil's perspective, as having been sanctioned by the teacher.

5. This may be read as a more serious example of the discourse mismatches described in Part One Chapter Three above.

6. This point is further illustrated by a consideration of the following questionnaire and interview responses, read in relation to the lessons already described:

(a) Seven out of the fifteen teachers formally interviewed described pupil-pupil dialogue as an important feature of lessons, and the other eight described it as 'of particular importance'.

(b) Two teachers said they encouraged pupils to talk about themselves and their lives. All teachers

interviewed said this was important or of particular importance.

(c) Three teachers said it was important to teach pupils concepts they would need in standard schools appropriate to their age, while the remaining twelve said this was 'particularly important'.

(d) Fourteen teachers believed it was important or very important to engage pupils in conversation: only one said it was 'not important at all'.

(e) In answer to the question "What account do you take of your pupils' existing language skills?" nine teachers said they took a great deal of account, one teacher replied "not a lot", and one declined to respond. A similar response was returned by the question "What account do you take of your pupils' existing knowledge and skills?"

(For fuller details of responses, see Appendix 2.)

7. There was no external pressure on the Centre to teach a modified secondary-school curriculum. It was, on the contrary, the Centre itself that had elected to operate in this way.

Chapter Seven

1. An interest in distinguishing for separate but related study the different functions and styles of second - or even first languages - is not new: it can be seen both as part of a general interest in the formal-functional separation of languages and as central to a wider debate as to what "language proficiency" actually is (see, for example, Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976,

on differences between "surface fluency" and the kinds of language skills required for strictly academic development.) In this context, the term 'formal' refers to aspects of language related to structure and appearance, that remain 'unchanged' regardless of context: aspects such as vocabulary, grammar and punctuation. The term 'functional', by contrast, refers to the various aspects of language-in-use.

2. See also Walkerdine (1982) on "context-dependent" and "formal" reasoning.
3. See, for example, Vygotsky 1962 p. 100, where writing is described as requiring "deliberate semantics - deliberate structuring of the web of meaning".
4. It is precisely participation in these kinds of discourse that was denied bilingual pupils in the lessons described in Chapters Five and Six. They were not allowed to use their 'own' languages in context-dependent discussions, nor were they given writing tasks other than those that demanded copying or gap-filling.
5. The 'learning readiness' model of development and instruction owes much to the work of Jean Piaget (1926), who suggests that children move 'naturally' through stages of development and that one of the teacher's chief tasks is, then, to identify 'where the pupil is' in order to provide appropriate material and pedagogical inputs. Without completely rejecting the Piagetian model, Vygotsky argues that the teacher needs, rather, to lead pupils on, to achieve what is immediately beyond them: that is to say, "instruction must be oriented toward the future, not the past" (Vygotsky 1962, p.104). To quote Vygotsky's well-known aphorism: "What the child can do in co-operation today [she] can do alone tomorrow" (ibid.).

It should be noted that Vygotsky's theory itself is not unproblematic. Levine, for example (Levine 1993), has been critical of Vygotskian theory with reference to his thoughts on disembedded foreign-language teaching. Levine's criticism, however, is directed to the detail of Vygotsky's work rather than to his "general theory of the social basis of learning" (Levine 1993, p.214).

6. Continued L1 development, on the other hand, may be expected to help pupils in the development of their L2.

Notes on Part Three

Chapter Eight

1. This was certainly the intention of the vast majority of teachers interviewed, and it was a message clearly transmitted to parents through interviews and publicity materials such as the school prospectus and whole-school policy documents.
2. The term 'biculturalism', though less common than 'bilingualism', is by no means a new one in the vocabulary of bilingual research: see, for example, Triandis 1980. With one isolated exception, it is, however, a term which I did not hear used by teachers at either Company Road or Kursal Lane.
3. Sylheti was variously described by pupils at the school as a dialect of Standard Bengali and as a language in its own right. It has no 'official' written form.
4. The maximum amount of withdrawal for Stage 1 pupils was 12 out of 25 periods - ie. less than 50%. This, was, however, rare, the number of pupils receiving such levels of withdrawal being estimated by the Deputy

Headteacher as 2-3% of all bilingual pupils at the school.

5. It was not uncommon for some teachers to argue that so much attention was being paid to the needs of bilingual pupils that monolingual pupils were suffering as a result.
6. For example, not being able to predict from one year to the next exactly how much language support of this nature would be required.
7. This broad consensus was not supported wholeheartedly by the teachers of practical subjects, many of whom were among the strongest objectors to having beginner bilingual pupils in their classes, often on the grounds of health and safety.
8. The nature of the work carried out with pupils in withdrawal groups in years 7-9 had changed over the years, but its purposes had remained the same: that is to say, the general and subject-related development of English oral and written proficiency. In the past, teaching in these small groups had been based on the learning of English vocabulary and structures. By the time of the research project, work in these groups had, however, become more topic-based (topics included 'School', 'Families' and 'The Body'). At the same time, programmes of work were becoming more individualised, and there was a move towards a more skills-based course that included working on different methods of recording and presenting information and on different styles of writing.

Pupils in years 10 and 11 received a similar mixture of 'in-lesson' and 'out-lesson' support, but with one

important difference: no pupil was withdrawn from mainstream lessons in the upper school for more than three periods a week or from more than one subject area.

9. It also, interestingly, suggested that certain skills were not immediately transferable: hence the reluctance to include bilingual pupils in mainstream classes deemed to be 'language heavy'. This point is returned to later in this chapter.
10. This is not, perhaps, surprising. Many subject teachers at Company Road, particularly Science teachers, shared the commonsense view of Kursal Lane teachers that if their pupils did not understand the language of instruction there was nothing they could teach them.
11. It is worth remembering that at Kursal Lane, where there was a close match between what teachers could do and what they wanted to do, no such tension existed.
12. Where obvious similarities occurred with Kursal Lane, these were confined to some - though not all - ESL 'withdrawal' lessons, where pupils were taught 'simplified curriculum' through 'basic language', and to some mainstream lessons unsupported by an ESL teacher, where subject teachers addressed their bilingual pupils in 'simplified' English and gave them alternative, cognitively-simplified tasks.

Chapter Nine

1. This information was conveyed via the school's one bilingual English-Bengali teacher, who on several occasions acted as an interpreter for me.

2. Interestingly, Nozrul was the only non-native child in this class who had not attended, even for a brief period, an English primary school. The art-work of his Sylheti peers in the class was not, to Mrs Green's eyes, "good"; but they had already learned something of what was required of them here and "at least they tried" to reproduce the 'similarity' that was being demanded of them.
3. 'Pseudo-Piagetian' in the sense that it is an oversimplification of Piaget's theory, placing an over-emphasis on 'natural' stages of development.
4. The point Atkinson is making - and the difficulty involved in attempting to 'stand outside' a given discourse in order for it to become 'visible' - is illustrated in the DES publication Art in Secondary Education 11-16 (DES 1983), which asserts that in Art:

[p]upils are provided with an opportunity to share their view and perception of the same experience. They learn that they may each have different perceptions of the same object and different responses to the same experience.

(DES 1983, pp.17-18)

At first, this seems to be an argument in favour of the generic-stylistic pluralism that Atkinson argues for. The report continues, however:

all [children] should be able to set down what they see or imagine as adequately as they would communicate; to have the skill that would serve 'seeing' and make translation possible.

The problem here lies (a) in the term 'adequate', which represents what Atkinson calls a 'closure', (b) in the question of who defines what 'adequate' is. As with 'ability', the term 'adequate' is presented itself as neutral, as a 'given', whereas in fact it is a matter of preference and choice. To use our own example, Nozrul's drawing may have been perfectly adequate in his eyes to the task he had undertaken, and to represent that which he saw in the way he saw it: the teacher, however, may have judged the drawing inadequate, on the assumption that there was only one way of seeing and representing the object depicted.

Chapter Ten

1. The rationale for not withdrawing bilingual pupils from Art classes at Company Road was that they would know what to do by using their eyes and that they would have some existing skills that they could put into practice. In English, there was a different reason. Here, it was felt that pupils could use their first languages, and that this - in line with Common Underlying Proficiency theory - would ultimately benefit their second-language development.
2. 'Arbitrary' in the sense that they do not deal with knowledge and skills that are intrinsically superior to the knowledge and skills that are excluded from the curriculum but, rather, in knowledge and skills selected by powerful social groups to further their own interests.
3. There was a preponderance of boys in Company Road's Bangladeshi community. In Abdul's year, they outnumbered the girls by seven to three.

4. For the possible effects of this kind of approach with a more confident pupil, see Carr 1994, who describes the response of an Afro-Caribbean pupil, Karen:

"'Well, he handed back my essay and there was red marks all over it... I was vex[ed] and surprised, and without thinking I just said to him 'Wha' gwoan?'"

In this context, she meant - 'What did I do wrong? - Why have you written all over my essay?' - I worked hard on it and it doesn't make sense.'"

(Carr 1994, p.5)

5. This kind of approach is not new to English teachers, who for many years have been faced with difficult questions related to the linguistic needs and development of bidialectal pupils. Here, the issue has been directly comparable to that we have been considering in relation to bilingual pupils. Working with pupils who operate in dialects of English classified as 'non-standard', and knowing that such pupils must learn to operate in 'standard English' in order to succeed in the public examination system, teachers have had to decide how best to prepare such pupils for success within that system while at the same time not undermining their own linguistic preferences. Typically, this has led teachers to a 'repertoire extension' model of language teaching, in which pupils' 'out-of-school' dialects are encouraged and developed alongside the acquisition and development of the dialect known as 'Standard English'. (See also Stubbs 1976, Trudgill 1983, and, for an alternative view which implies the need to correct 'non-standard' forms, DFE 1993, p.9.)

Chapter Eleven

1. For this particular project the pupils were allowed to choose whom they sat with, because (Mrs Endersley) "this is a task that is intended to be open, in the sense that any kind of approach is acceptable." For other tasks, where pupils might be acquiring expertise in a genre whose delimitations were more fixed, Bangladeshi pupils would more typically be asked to sit and work with native English-speakers.
2. Subsequently, Mrs Endersley did locate some fish illustrations, in the catalogue of a recent exhibition of 'Crafts of Bangladesh' (National Crafts Council of Bangladesh, E. Haque, Ed., 1987). In addition to illustrations of fish on a woollen blanket, she found a picture of a clay fish designed to shape rice cakes or 'pithas'. She brought the catalogue into the classroom and was able to show the fish to the whole class and to read them a short extract about the use of the fish motif in Bangladeshi cooking. (National Crafts Council of Bangladesh, pp. 27-8.)
3. It seems not unreasonable to suggest, for example, that middle-class values and preferences in Bangladesh may differ in crucial respects from middle-class values and preferences in Britain.
4. Other assignments, such as responses to works of literature, he had not yet attempted. The writing of formulaic stories was not a unique phenomenon - many of the other Sylheti children at Company Road often produced similar work in response to similar assignments - but the fact that Mashud was such a productive student, and that he never varied his approach, had thrown this idiosyncrasy into particularly

sharp relief in his case. For a further account of the way developing bilingual pupils may 'hold on to' one set of forms or styles while developing other forms and styles in a 'parallel' genre, see Bleach & Riley 1981, p.33.

5. Previously, Mashud had produced second drafts of stories at Ms Montgomery's or my request, but these had amounted to mere neat copies of teacher-corrected originals: cf. Abdul's second 'draft' in Chapter Ten above.
6. This is the one area in which we might criticise Ms Montgomery's approach. As she was to agree herself (cf. Chapter Twelve below), she made "far too many" initial corrections to her bilingual pupils' work, running the risk of, as she put it, "putting them off writing for life".

Notes on Part Four

Chapter Twelve

1. Teachers were given a choice as to whether or not they wanted the interviews recorded. Interview selections were made according to a range of criteria, but generally speaking I invited all teachers to evaluate the first lesson I observed. I also endeavoured to arrange interviews with a range of teachers in each subject area, and tried to interview teachers whose classes I had visited with a very specific purpose in mind: for example, a follow-up visit to see how a particular pupil had responded over time to the previous lesson.
2. I use the term micro-politics not precisely in the manner of Ball (1987), but very specifically in terms of

the pedagogies teachers adopted according to the philosophical views they espoused and their notions of what they felt able to do given current levels of resourcing.

3. This view is clearly at odds with other influential views on the matter: the Department for Education has, for example, described Standard English in terms of its grammatical 'correctness' (DFE 1993, 1994), implying that non-standard forms are grammatically incorrect corruptions of that standard.
- 4 . Compromises in the sense that they do not in themselves change the system, although they may help to do so over a period of time.
5. See also Williams' "Marxist theory of culture" which "will take the facts of the economic structure and the consequent social relations as the guiding string on which culture is woven, and by following which a culture is to be understood" (Williams 1961, p.262).

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1

A note on methodology relating to the coding and selection of data.

As has been indicated in the body of the thesis, the research project was initiated by broad questions and lines of inquiry which led, initially, to the accumulation of a wealth and variety of related data. Some of these data would, in time, prove more useful than others, but until specific directions and then substantive theories had been generated there could be no way of knowing which would be used and elaborated in any written reports, and which would be discarded. In order to make feasible future selections of that data, it was, however, essential, even at this early stage, to 'code' the data in the manner described by Glaser & Strauss (1967). This was done either by making brief indications in a wide margin (in the case of written observations, copies of whole-school policies, and so on), or by appending similar notes to cassette sleeves and boxes (in the case of recorded data).

Early codings were general in the extreme: for example, data from Kursal Lane was coded simply by 'teacher presents new science fact', 'teacher introduces new grammar construction', 'teacher teaches time telling', abbreviated to 'T.Sc.Fact'; 'T.NewLang.'; 'T.Time' and so on. As time wore on, and issues of discourse emerged as pre-eminently important - through, for example, discourse mismatches in which pupils misunderstood the discourse they were meant to be operating in, or teachers treated pupil ignorance as pupil understanding - these early data were recoded in a progressively more theoretical and refined way, as, for example: 'teacher asks question'; 'pupil asks question'; 'teacher ignores pupil's question', and, later, 'teacher

initiates-pupil responds-teacher evaluates pattern of discourse': 'discourse mismatch', and so on. Each time a recoding took place, some actual or mental crossing-out of data occurred, and previous codes were removed. New examples of current 'codings' were sought out - eg. examples of discourse mismatches or of particular patterns of classroom discourse - and data identified with rejected codings were avoided.

Finally, as it became apparent - that is, as a central theory took shape - that limited discursive practice was impinging on the linguistic and cognitive development of pupils at Kursal Lane, coding became more theoretical, along the lines 'teacher denies pupil taking control of discourse', 'pupil attempts to extend discourse parameters', and so on.

Data gathering and coding had been going on at Company Road, meanwhile, in a similar way, leading to the eventual discovery that, even in a situation in which bilingual pupils were given access to the range of discourses available to their monolingual peers, particular culture-specific discourses that they had brought into the classroom with them were being denied validation. In essence, the methodological approach of continuously recording, analysing, coding and recoding data had, by this time, led to a substantive theory not unlike the work on 'visible' and 'invisible' pedagogies of Basil Bernstein (1977): that is to say, at Kursal Lane, where teachers very strictly and overtly controlled both curriculum content and the discursive practices through which it was disseminated, evidence of restricted discourse leading to restricted linguistic/cognitive development was also overt (the teachers were aware of the extent of their control, which was deliberate practice, but preferred to remain oblivious to its possible detrimental effects). At Company Road, on

the other hand, where 'framing' and 'classification' (Bernstein 1971) were relatively weak, and a more child-centred approach was favoured, the denial of certain discursive practices was covert and less obvious both to the researcher and to the teachers involved (teachers themselves had apparently no idea they were promoting certain cultural forms and preferences at the expense of others).

A stage was thus reached at a particular point in the research project - approximately four months into the observational period - when one 'core variable' (Hutchinson 1988 p.133) related to data collected at Kursal Lane (that is, to do with the detrimental impact of teachers' perceptions of cognitive/linguistic development on their bilingual pupils through limiting and controlling classroom discourse) could be linked with a second 'core variable' related to data collected at Company Road (that is, to do with the detrimental impact of teachers' practice on their bilingual pupils through the rejection or ignorance of alternative discursive practices). These "core variables" were, in fact, reminiscent of Nias's description of how "the extent and quality of the information I collected challenged me to search for and eventually find connections and relationships between apparently isolated ideas" (1990, p.162), of Lacey's notion of the "escalation of insights" (1976), and of Woods' account of "signs that alert one to the fact that 'something is up'" (1992, p.383).

At this particular point in the project, the researcher's impression was of having uncovered, to use Glaser's (1978) terminology, a "basic social psychological process" that was common to both institutions: that is to say, the hindrance of bilingual pupils' linguistic, academic and even social development through discourse selection and control. (Though common to both institutions, this was not common to all teachers: however, it was significant that those teachers at

Company Road who had managed to develop alternative teaching strategies had done so via a keen awareness of actual cultural and linguistic prejudice in colleagues and of potential cultural and linguistic prejudice in themselves.)

This substantive theory could now be developed and refined by the selection of further observations and data-collections. In practice, two other significant features were now highlighted in the data, and became themselves an integral part of the developing theory. These were: the way in which some teachers responded to the presence of bilingual pupils as a challenge while others approached it in the spirit of surrender; and the way in which some teachers sought to replace 'incorrect' language and learning with 'correct' language and learning, while others approached their task in terms of extending the cultural and linguistic repertoires of their students. The development of these ideas influenced the review of literature now undertaken, which in turn lent critical support to ongoing interpretations of the available data.

Appendix 2a

Attitudes Towards Pupils' Bilingualism at Kursal Lane, As Shown Through Responses to Existing Literature

Despite its exclusive devotion to the needs of bilingual pupils, no Kursal Lane teacher except the Head of Centre was able in interview to refer to research into the value or otherwise of bilingualism itself.

There was, however, a common-sense view that the pupils' first languages were probably not helpful to them in the British school system, and that it was not the British education system's job to encourage their development. This common-sense view emerged particularly strongly when the Centre's nine full-time and eleven part-time staff were asked to take away three statements drawn from existing research, and to provide written comments on each in spaces provided.

Of the seven full-time and five part-time teachers who provided written responses - excluding the Head of Centre, with whom it was more appropriate to incorporate discussion of these issues into existing interview-time - all said they fully agreed with the first statement, eight expressed broad agreement with the second, and none agreed that the third statement accorded with their experience.

Statements on Bilingualism Considered by Kursal Lane Teaching Staff

Statement 1: "The average child cannot cope with two languages of instruction and to try to do so leads to insecurity, language interference, and academic retardation."

(Association of Catholic Principals of Montreal 1969, quoted in Lambert & Tucker 1972.)

Statement 2: "Childhood bilingualism, forced or voluntary, results in many disadvantages. Numerous handicaps accrue to the individual in [their] speech development, overall language development, intellectual and educational progress, and emotional stability."

(Summary of 'problematics' of bilingualism, in Jensen 1962.)

Statement 3: "Bilinguals mature earlier than monolinguals both in terms of cerebral lateralization for language and in acquiring skills for linguistic abstraction. Bilinguals have better developed auditory language skills than monolinguals, but there is no clear evidence that they differ from monolinguals in written skills."

(Albert & Obler 1979, p.248.)

Subsequently, a fourth statement was presented to the staff, in the same way as the others. This new statement appeared directly to challenge key aspects of the Centre's philosophy and practice - even the existence of the Centre itself - as well as calling into question responses teachers had made to the first set of statements*. It was hoped that this statement might provoke some debate among staff as to any differences between the provision they offered and the provision they felt they would like to offer given alternative resourcing.

Additional Statement on Bilingualism Considered by
Kursal Lane Teaching Staff

The bilingualism of hundreds and thousands of British children may be a liability to them in schools simply because it is not being put to use. This can result in part from the belief that by banishing the first language from the learning situation the child will learn English more efficiently and speedily, and will in turn make swifter educational progress. Although well-meaning, this ignores the possibility of making positive use of the 'other language' skills which the child brings to the learning situation, and denies even the chance of discovering if such skills can be used to further general educational progress without hampering the process of learning English.

It can also be argued that by ignoring the first language skills of minority group children the school inevitably signals to those children, and to the majority group children, the irrelevance, uselessness and low status of the other languages themselves. This has obvious implications for the way these children are regarded by the majority.

(J. Wright 1985, p.6)

Of the teachers who had provided written responses to the first set of statements, all were happy to respond to this additional statement in interview. While three part-time and one full-time member of staff now agreed that it might be beneficial for their pupils to develop first-language alongside second-language skills, they described this as something the Centre ought to consider rather than as

something that had previously been considered and rejected on the grounds of impracticality or as a clear matter of policy. The rest of the staff questioned about this fourth statement did not feel that first-language use should be encouraged in their classrooms, mostly on the basis that, to quote one respondent, "they use their first languages plenty enough in the playground". These teachers preferred to focus on the second part of the statement, which suggested social reasons for promoting first language use in the classroom and argued that the denial of such use promoted negative images of minority language speakers. In each case, the teacher pointed to the fact that there were no "majority language speaking peers" at the Centre, and that consequently the issue of peer-group status did not apply. It was denied by all these teachers and by the other respondents that the relegation of their pupils' first languages to the playground had any impact on the pupils socially or in terms of their own self-image** - a view reflected in questionnaire answers, in which not one respondent agreed with the suggestion that there were possible social drawbacks to full time attendance at the Centre (see Appendix 2b).

When the same exercise, using the same four statements, was carried out at Company Road using a smaller percentage of staff, eighteen out of twenty non-ESL respondents said they fully agreed with the first statement. Six of these teachers expressed general agreement with the second statement. Only four teachers said they felt the third statement accorded with their experience. When twelve ESL teachers at the same school responded, only two supported the first statement, only one supported the second, and four said they felt some measure of agreement with the third.

* This extract was selected from a range of literature describing the actual advantages and disadvantages of

bilingualism in the school situation brought about by teachers' attitudes. Orzechowska (1984 p.1) had, for example, written a damning condemnation of the flagrant waste in Britain - reflected in attitudes in British schools - of the potentially rich resource of its people's bilingualism. For more positive pictures of schools' changing attitudes towards bilingualism and biculturalism see, by contrast, Bolton 1979 and DES 1983.

** These views echoed those of the Head of Centre, who was interviewed at greater length in relation to all four statements and who saw attendance at the Centre as "a benefit socially".

Appendix 2b

Questionnaire Given to Teachers at Kursal Lane Language
Centre as Basis for Subsequent Interviews

Please consider each of the following statements and then circle the response that most closely accords with your own.

The purpose of the questionnaire to raise issues to do with your views on educating bilingual pupils. I would like to talk with you further about these views in an interview if you feel you can spare the time. Questions are essentially of two kinds, dealing with what happens or should happen in the classroom and with issues of how education for bilingual pupils should be organised (ie. through mainstream support or by withdrawal, through 'immersion' or through bilingual programmes).

Section A

1. As a regular feature of my lessons, pupil-pupil dialogue is:

not important at all(0) not very important(0) important
(7) of particular importance (8)* other(0)

2. Encouraging pupils to talk about themselves and their lives is:

not important at all(0) not very important(0)
important(2) of particular importance(13) other(0)

3. Getting your pupils to write continuously early on is:

not important at all(0) not very important(0)
important(4) of particular importance(11) other(0)

4. It is important for teachers at the Centre to help pupils develop social skills:

not important at all(0) not very important(0)
important(2) of particular importance(13) other(0)

5. It is important to teach pupils concepts they will need in school, appropriate to their age:

not important at all(0) not very important(0)
important(3) of particular importance(12) other(0)

6. It is important for the teacher to engage pupils in conversation:

not important at all(1) not very important(0)
important(2) of particular importance(12) other(0)

7. Teaching pupils appropriate behaviour is:

not important at all(0) not very important(0)
important(0) of particular importance(15) other(0)

8. Teaching pupils appropriate language registers is:

not important at all(0) not very important(1)
important(11) of particular importance(3) other(0)

9. In terms of the teacher's overall role, how important is the passing on of information?

not important at all(0) not very important(0)
important(5) of particular importance(10) other(0)

10. In terms of the teacher's overall role, a structured, step-by-step programme of work is:

not important at all(0) not very important(0)
important(0) of particular importance(15) other(0)

11. Language errors should be corrected instantly in the classroom.

Agree(12) Disagree(0) Neither Agree nor Disagree(3)

12(a). There is a qualitative difference between 'social' language and 'academic' language.

Agree(13) Disagree(0) Neither Agree nor Disagree(2)

Please answer the following if you circled 'Agree' for Question 12a.

12(b). Pupils at the Centre will, generally speaking, pick up social English naturally.

Agree(11) Disagree(0) Neither Agree nor Disagree(2)

12(c). Academic language needs to be actively taught.

Agree(13) Disagree(0) Neither Agree nor Disagree(0)

12(d). Teaching academic language should be given primacy over social language development.

Agree(13) Disagree(0) Neither Agree nor Disagree(0)

Section B

1. "Pupils' concept development could be hampered by the sole use of a new language (eg. English) as the medium of instruction."

Agree(1) Disagree(14) Neither Agree nor Disagree(0)

2. "There are possible social drawbacks to full-time attendance at off-site centres."

Agree(0) Disagree(15) Neither Agree nor Disagree(0)

3. "Pupils attending language centres full-time miss out on much of the specialist teaching, a good deal of the curriculum, and even some important subjects available in ordinary schools."

Agree(1) Disagree(14) Neither Agree nor Disagree(0)

4. "It's a good idea, if resources allow, for 'beginner' bilingual pupils to be taught some of the curriculum in their own strongest language."

Agree(1) Disagree(14) Neither Agree nor Disagree(0)

Section C

1. What account, if any, do you take of your pupils' existing language skills in planning, preparing and presenting lessons?

Not a Lot(1) Some(4) A Great Deal(9)

2. What account, if any, do you take of your pupils' existing knowledge/non-linguistic skills in planning, preparing and presenting lessons?

Not a lot(0) Some(3) A Great Deal(11)

3. What account, if any, do you take of your pupils' cultural backgrounds and experience in planning, preparing and-presenting lessons?

Not a Lot(0)

Some(5)

A Great Deal(10)

Section D

In your view, should the Centre remain open as it is?
(Please answer as fully as you can.)

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Notes

1. * indicates number of responses.
2. Quotations in Section B were drawn from documentation related to local Education Authority opposition to the continuation of the Language Centre, supplied by an advisory teacher.
3. Of nine full-time and eleven part-time members of staff at the Centre, seven full-time and eight part-time teachers completed the questionnaire and agreed to take part in follow-up interviews.

Appendix 3

List of Published Work Using Material From the Thesis.

Moore A. (1990) 'Ethnocentricity and Response to Student Writing': in The Quarterly of the National Writing Project and the Center for the Study of Writing, vol.12 no.1, University of California, Berkeley, pp. 1-27.

Moore A. (1990) 'A Whole Language Approach to the Teaching of Bilingual Learners': Occasional Paper No. 15 Center for the Study of Writing, University of California, Berkeley.

Moore A. (1991) 'A Whole Language Approach to the Teaching of Bilingual Learners' (variation of above article) in Goodman Y., Hood W. & Goodman K. (Eds) Organizing for Whole Language, Heinemann/Irwin, Portsmouth NH and Toronto.

Moore A. (1993) 'Genre, Ethnocentricity and Bilingualism in the English Classroom' in Woods P. and Hammersley M. (Eds) Gender and Ethnicity in Schools Routledge, London.

Moore A. (1993) '"Bad at Art": Issues of Culture and Culturism' in Chreods 5 Manchester Metropolitan University/Goldsmiths' College, pp. 39-54.

Moore A. (1994) '"Defining the Situation": The Relevance of Cultural Mismatch Theory in Educational Settings' in Chreods 7 Manchester Metropolitan University/Goldsmiths' College, pp. 22-29.

Moore A. (1994) 'Art Lessons' in Stredder K. (Ed) Achievement and the Multi-Ethnic School, Book 2: Curriculum Planning and Development Open University, Milton Keynes.